# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-95-193* *5 October 1995*

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## Key Developments

### Yeltsin To Cooperate if Opposition Wins Elections

*LD0310195695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1736 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[By Natalya Panshina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 3 (ITAR-TASS) — If Communists and Agrarians consolidate considerably the positions in the State Duma (Russian parliament lower house) after the December elections, it is possible to expect constructive cooperation between President Boris Yeltsin and the opposition, Georgiy Satarov, Yeltsin's assistant on cooperation with the Russian parliament, said here on Tuesday.

He participates in a conference on legal reorganisation of Russian society which opened in the Moscow region.

Replying to reporters, he noted that the results of the 1993 elections were regarded as "staggering". However, this "did not shake" the position of the president.

Turning to the Public Accord Treaty which was conceived as an instrument called upon to play an important role in creating a law-governed state, Satarov said that, regrettably, this treaty works now only partially.

He compared the treaty with a house which is built and does not crumble. However, people live in this house. Responsibility for this situation lies, according to Satarov, on sponsors of the treaty's structure and on the president's administration.

### Yeltsin Aide: No Legal Obstacle to Elections

*LD0410222395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — According to the president's legal adviser Mikhail Krasnov, there is no legal obstacle to parliamentary elections.

In response to an INTERFAX question Krasnov said that if Belarus and Russia hold a referendum on the setting up of a confederation, neither parliamentary nor presidential elections will be put off. "A confederation implies that its parts can have their own authorities. Furthermore, unification will take months, not days," Krasnov explained.

According to Krasnov, the Russian president has no intention of putting off the elections. "Elections, he emphasized, are the sole lever of popular supervision over the authorities. To discard them would be to restore the Soviet system under which the lawmakers made no important decisions and the bureaucrats were appointed from the top."

Krasnov feared, however, that because of the imperfections of the electoral system party groups may emerge in the State Duma whose size will be out of proportion with the number of their supporters.

He was also worried about the possible take over of the legislative branch by the criminal world. Krasnov made it clear he would welcome the cancelation of parliamentary immunity because the danger posed by the underworld outweighs the importance of certain democratic principles. He added, however, that a more thorough scrutiny of the candidates by law enforcement agencies is likely to give rise to allegations that the country is returning to a totalitarian rule.

### Interior Ministry Lists Candidates With Criminal Charges

*LD0310193895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[By Sergey Chereshnev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 3 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Interior Ministry has submitted to the Central Election Commission an 85-name list of candidates to run for the State Duma (lower house of the Russian legislature) who either faced or are facing criminal charges, Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov told reporters on Tuesday.

Kulikov noted that the ministry regularly supplies the commission with detailed reports about all candidates who appear on election lists. The commission then takes a decision itself on each person, the Minister added.

### Skokov Outlines Congress of Russian Communities' Platform

*954F3559A Moscow ZAVTRA in Russian Sep 95 No 37, p 4*

[Article by Yuriy Skokov, leader of the Congress of Russian Communities, prepared on the basis of his speech to the Fourth Congress of the Congress of Russian Communities: "To Restore Faith in Justice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The country is entering a new stage in its history, which is being inaugurated by the elections of the federal representative authority. Presidential elections, or the postponement of the elections under any pretext, will follow. But afterwards we are in for either a most difficult, a genuinely creative, or a decisively destructive period for our Motherland.

We all sense the alarm that at times shatters our hopes for our future and the preservation of our state. We all want to acquire a sense of confidence, mental equilibrium, and that which was previously called

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collectivism, but which in fact is the striving of any person for the kind of community where you sense and know that you are not alone in this world. A feeling of communality, mutual support, and mutual trust have been historically characteristic of our people.

Today the question stands starkly: What will our future be like? Who will determine it? At the same time, will we be asked what it is we want? What must we do to ensure that the people are not rendered speechless and silent once again? How can we influence decisions that concern our fate? What are the true purposes and intentions of those who have usurped the right to these decisions?

Our aim—the aim of the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO]—is to find the answers to these fundamental questions, to find the political methods and decisions, and to form the kind of political mechanism that will enable us to realize these answers, and to turn these answers into a living reality.

Russian society has several problems that it is necessary to resolve immediately. It is impossible to guarantee vitally important national interests without increasing the effectiveness of state rule. It is impossible to establish flexible management of the economy under the conditions of today's decentralization without a clear determination of the directions of social and economic reorganization. It is impossible to achieve social unity without a new system of social guarantees.

The common people want to know: What will our life be like, and according to what kinds of rules will we be living? What kind of home will we be living in: In our own, one belonging to the people, or in a "home" in quotation marks given to a faceless greedy bureaucrat. This monster has already ruined the country and the economy, has taken away the past from whole generations, and is now trying to deprive us of the future!

The brusqueness and brazenness with which today's leaders operate in order to remain at the helm of power cannot leave the people complacent. In a truly democratic state, power cannot be a means of protecting the interests of bureaucrats and bribe-takers. Such protection by the official organs of authority of the corporate interests of a narrow element at the expense of all the people is criminal! Moreover, today's authorities, by creating their own party, cynically announce to society: "Russia is not your home, but ours!"

Therefore, we, members of the KRO social movement, relying on the understanding and support of representatives of a number of parties, organizations, and movements, intend to do battle with the present powers that be when we go to the Duma elections.

Our position is set forth in a document under the title "Platform of the Congress of Russian Communities Electoral Association." This is not a program of actions, but the initial basis for the elaboration and revision of the KRO program document. It is an invitation to discussion, and with this platform we are appealing to the common people of our great country. We want them in particular to express their point of view and help refine our basic directions and priorities. We want this program to become a reflection of the position of the broad masses, not of a privileged group of politicians. It is possible that this will help shake off the political apathy of the people and attract them to the formation of the strategic program of the KRO as a program for their own actions.

We proceed on the basis that the present crisis in the country is of a general nature. It has enveloped society, the economy, organs of state power, and the moral and cultural spheres. And when the propagandists of "Their Home" claim that some stabilization is taking place—this is a cynical and brazen lie. Half of the territory of the country is an ecological disaster zone. A total die-off of the population of Russia has started. The danger of catastrophic epidemics in the country has appeared again. Crime has become practically unmanageable.

The spiral of the general crisis continues to unfold, and the future confronts us with a dangerous challenge. A new redivision of the world is picking up speed.

In dramatic periods of our history, the Russian state mobilized the forces of society to pull out of crisis. But today even the state mechanism is on the verge of crashing.

It must be declared frankly that we do not have a state today for the people that defends the fundamental, vital interests of our society. The present state machinery mainly services the interests of officialdom.

We believe that today not one key contradiction in our society will find the necessary resolution if a new Russian statehood is not established. It must be based on the important historical traditions of our people, on its dramatic experience, and on a sober evaluation of impending global threats.

A new Russian state is impossible without a revival of the Russian people—the foundation of our society. It is necessary to stop the physical extinction of Russians, their social, economic, and political stratification, and the erosion of Russian culture. Only this will make it possible to defend the national interests of Russians

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in the new historical stage of world development. Therefore, the KRO appeals:

"Russians, unite! We are at the danger line!"

We firmly declare that the fate of our compatriots outside the boundaries of the Russian Federation has been and will be part of the common fate of the Russian people. We have defended, are defending, and will defend their rights.

The KRO is deciding the "Russian question" in a way that is typical for Russians. We have never tried to solve our problems at the expense of other peoples of our Motherland and in contradistinction to their national interests.

Russia has been, is, and will be a multiethnic country and a country of diverse national cultures. Our historical strength and long-lasting strategic primacy are based on this. We are striving to build a powerful and effective state based on a sound fraternal union of peoples.

In defending the interests of the Russian people, the KRO became the initiator of the creation of the Union of Peoples of Russia social movement. From this comes the strategic slogan of the Congress: "Without the unity of the Russian people there can be no union of peoples of Russia! Without the union of peoples of Russia there can be no strong effective state—guarantor of the interests that are common to all the people!"

As a great power, Russia can only be a federal, rule-of-law, democratic state. The unity of Russia—this is the unity of the interests of the security, stability, and development of the whole country. This is taking regional interests and regional features into account, this is a firm guarantee of the rights of the individual and of the people. The KRO sees Russia as a "Union of peoples and a federation of regions."

Under conditions of an exacerbation of global competition and a struggle for strategic survival in the 21st century, only a capable state will ensure the reliable security of its society. A strong, effective state that is capable of resolving the long-range tasks of security and development—this is the strategic goal of the KRO.

In the economic sphere we stand for "relying on our own forces." We are for the defense of the interests of native commodity producers and workers, and for the revival of all of our scientific and industrial potential. Russia will take part in the international division of labor, but only through the prism of its own historical experience, taking into account its own traditions and with the employment of its own competitive advantages.

Our aim is the gradual, consistent formation of a market economy with a strong state sector and with the active participation of the state in all stages of the construction of a new economy, with an understandable and reasonable method of requiring answerability for the consequences of each step. The main criterion of the effectiveness of the overall federal economic system should be the principle of satisfying the reasonable needs of the individual and society, but not the principle of "profit for the sake of profit." At the same time we proceed from the basis that only flexible, strategic state regulation is capable of ensuring the functioning of the mechanisms of market competition and guaranteeing the necessary level of social security of our citizens. Mutual responsibility for the implementation of coordinated rules of economic cooperation and consideration of the interests of all economic subjects should be placed as the basis for such regulation.

Of the entire spectrum of social problems, the most important for us are overcoming the current demographic catastrophe and guaranteeing individual protection of the individual, the family, and the youth. We proceed from the fact that the condition of the health of our people is the main indicator of the welfare of the country. If our people are physically dying out today, this is the most reliable indicator of the antisocial and antihuman direction of the policy of the present authorities from "their home."

The KRO declares that if the ecological safety and reproductive health of the individual and society are not ensured in the shortest possible time, our country and our people will have no future.

In order to prevent a national tragedy, the KRO has developed a federal emergency program to ensure protection of the health of the nation. It is necessary to give the program the form of law and to strictly demand its implementation by all organs of state authority.

The KRO considers the natural wealth of Russia to be the basis of the future existence of Russian civilization. An ecological approach to life should be the key criterion of development. There has been enough of "conquering nature," and it is time to think about the harmony of civilization and nature. No technical achievements and innovation make any sense if as a result the trees and the grass start to die out, the water becomes undrinkable, animals and fish disappear forever, and acid rain becomes a dramatic daily occurrence. Therefore, the KRO's slogan is this: "There can be no real humanism in society if there is no filial treatment of Mother Nature!"

Guaranteed human rights has been and will be the basis of human existence. Unfortunately, as a result of the economic and political reformation attempts in our country, individual rights are under serious threat.

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It is necessary for all of us to realize that today we already live in an absolutely different social environment. Without fundamental reorganization in the sphere of social and social-labor relations, no economic and political reforms will be effective. That is why we have proposed our own principally new system of negotiating processes. It is employed in labor collectives and among subjects of the federation, in branches of the economy, and at the federal level. It is the pledge of equality and partnership relations among commodity producers, trade unions and their associations, and the organs of executive authority. We believe that it precisely this kind of mechanism that gives the workers an opportunity to effectively participate in working out and adopting resolutions that directly affect their interests.

The system of political power cannot be separated from the structure of society, the system of social relations, and in the final analysis, the fate of the people of our country. Our near-term and long-term future depends on how Russian society is built, the social activeness of the people and their social responsibility, and how we preserve our traditions.

The KRO will firmly defend Russian traditions. Without the spiritual revival of Russia, neither economic nor scientific-technical development are possible.

I would like to mention once more that the KRO is developing as a truly people's initiative, as a spontaneous self-organization of common people, and as a reaction to the crisis that is unfolding in the country. The KRO is a manifestation of the historical will and responsibility of the people for their own fate, and it is the symbol of the vital forces of our people. The nucleus of the KRO, as a rule, are people of action who have displayed their loyalty to national interests through deeds.

The KRO is not a party that expresses the interests of some separate group of people at the expense of another group. The KRO is a supraparty movement whose members can hold different views and different professions and political orientations, but who are united by anguish for an offended Motherland and conscience and by a debt to the past and the future.

The KRO is not only a popular movement, but also a method of gradual construction of a new system of state authority and, first of all, a method of recreating a really democratic opportunity for the people to participate in and control the entire process of preparing for, adopting, and executing decisions that concern their fate.

There is frequent talk today about nostalgia in Russian society. But this nostalgia is not a longing for the communist past and unattained dreams. It is a desire for a stable and confident life, the belief in a just state, the hope that the state and society will not offend you and abandon you to the whim of fate, and the hope that the authorities will be moral and responsible for the fulfillment of their promises.

We believe that life should be built on fairness. This is the unshakeable law of life. But justice should be molded in laws, so that the life of the individual does not depend on the excesses of bureaucrats and the whims of the powers that be. That is why we are today announcing the beginning of a legal campaign for power.

We, who were brought up under certain historical traditions, who have a specific disposition, who profess Good and Justice as higher spiritual values, allowed political demagogues to steal the spirit of our people. A spirit that is most accurately expressed in the words Faith and Hope.

We allowed the theft of the belief that the state does everything for the people and protection of the common man. We allowed the theft of the belief in the righteousness of plans, intentions, promises, and appeals. We often do not think about this, but are these politicians who promise everyone and everything in a position to fulfill their promises? In what way can we make these politicians responsible for the deception of the people?

We allowed the theft of the hope that people should always be people and that they should never forget their responsibility for harm that was done to others. We allowed the theft of the hope that a person is given a mind not to destroy people like himself, but for the creation of Good and the preservation of this beautiful world for future generations.

That is why in our life such tragic words are in everyday use as: "We do not believe in anyone, we no longer have any hope." This is the most frightening thing that has happened to us.

We believe that the main task of all responsible politicians is to restore the squandered and stolen trust in the authorities, to restore the lost feeling of moral steadfastness, the belief in justice, and the faith that we have not lived and are not living in vain, and that we will leave our children peace, life, and the Motherland.

When people talk about power, they often forget that power is an opportunity to influence people's behavior. The answer to the question "will power really resolve the problem of the common man?" depends on the way this power is set up. People should again realize that the resolution of their fate is not the privilege of one or more bureaucrats. People should understand that power itself in behalf of the law should be taken under reliable

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control on the part of society. It is this that is the basis of higher social justice.

We are going to the Duma believing that justice has to be restored first of all through the establishment of legal rules of cooperation in a power—society—individual system.

We will fight for power to put it in the service of national interests.

We will fight for power so that it may become effective and responsible.

We will fight for power in order to prevent the extinction of the people, to protect the people from bandits and bribers and from social and economic troubles.

We will fight for power in order to turn it toward creation and not to war.

We will fight for power in order to restore the faith of the people in the state.

The defense of the interests of the people, nations, and society is above all!

We are for a just society!

We are for the responsibility of everyone for his Motherland!

We are for a strong and effective democratic state!

Security for the person, peace—for peoples, and order and development—for society!

No one will do this for us, no one can do it except us!

### 'True' Communist Leader Describes Aims of RCWP

*MM0210162595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 95 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Viktor Tyulkin, first secretary of the Russian Communuist Workers Party Central Committee, by Nadezhda Garifullina under the "Through the Eyes of a Political Leader" rubric: "Our Only Future Is One of Struggle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Arkadyevich Tyulkin heads Russia's second-largest communist party: He is first secretary of the Russian Communist Workers Party [RCWP] Central Committee. His name is at the top of the federal list of candidates of the "Communists-Working Russia for the Soviet Union" bloc. In our conversation we naturally talked primarily about the upcoming elections, although the discussion also extended beyond the election campaign.

[Garifullina] Viktor Arkadyevich, I seem to remember that in 1993 the RCWP boycotted the elections, yet now you are setting up a bloc and are becoming actively involved in the election race. Do you really believe that the tactics were wrong in the past?

[Tyulkin] On the contrary, we are merely confirming that our tactics in 1993 were correct. It is just that the situation is different. At that time Yeltsin was trying to get a Constitution to suit him via the elections. We had no intention of helping him to do this, he had to be fully exposed, and it is not our fault that the boycott tactics did not work 100 percent. And if there had not been any so-called communists in the Duma these past two years our arena for attacking the regime would have been much stronger today. Now the situation is qualitatively different, because the regime has consolidated — by force, military force, and via laws. Now the attack on it must be organized from a different angle. Therefore we will be participating in the Duma elections and will be using it as an arena for a new offensive.

[Garifullina] The leaders of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] say the same. So why are Russian communists participating in the elections in different blocs? Why is there no alliance?

[Tyulkin] I regret what is, to put it mildly, an unconstructive position.

[Garifullina] But at the press conference in the State Duma after the 3d All-Russia Conference of the CPRF, its leader, Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov said that they had tried to create an alliance with the RCWP, but unfortunately, it had not come off. The implication is that you were to blame, that is, the leaders of the RCWP.

[Tyulkin] Then I will answer in more detail. Since 1994 we have appealed several times top the CPRF leadership in this connection. At the October 1994 plenum and the March 1995 plenum we again appealed to all Russian communist parties and all left-wing communist forces: Let's get together on the basis of the well-known five principles and form a single bloc, because we have no right to participate in the elections separately. The appeal was reiterated by our party Central Committee's June plenum and by the "Working Russia" congress. At the 30th Congress of the Union of Communist Parties [UCP]-CPSU Viktor Anpilov read out our appeal, and 21 delegations asked the Russian communists to create a united bloc, but it did not succeed.

[Garifullina] I seem to remember another personal appeal you made in April, published in PRAVDA. But then for some reason you were told that a bloc takes six months to create and it was already too late....

[Tyulkin] Blocs are still being created even now. Evidently, they were inclined to refuse. Why? I would divide the answer into two parts. Formally, based on

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what it said, the CPRF leadership also appeared to want to unite and tried to do something, although on terms it knew were unacceptable. That was tantamount to a refusal to create a single bloc.

We believe that life does not begin and end with elections, therefore we proposed achieving closer unity anyway. It did not happen. But that is only looking at it from the outside. The reason is the different nature of the parties, although they are all called communist. So when you ask why there was no bloc, my answer is: You have to look at the "whys" that existed before. Why were we not supported at the 28th CPSU Congress when we tried to rebuff Gorbachev? Why did they try to push through a reforms and market course when we warned that it would lead to the establishment of capitalism and to collapse? Why, after August 1991, did they start organizing a socialist party when we summoned everyone to a congress of communists, and where is that party today. what bloc is it in? Why, instead of going to the people and organizing resistance to the regime by communists at least, did they hang around in the Constitutional Court trying to get authority for something that could not be prohibited anyway? Why, in 1993, were the barricades manned mainly by unsophisticated, "uncivilized," communists, or, as a comrade from the CPRF put it, "cavemen?" Incidentally, Marx said in his manifesto that communists were always "uncivilized," whereas socialists were always respectable.

So in answer to all these "whys" we say: We have different natures and therefore different methods of struggle, of going forward. Some of them fit into the current regime as the "civilized opposition" and see the parliamentary arena as their main activity, and therefore select skilled, professional, respectable specialists for the Duma and want to engage in a long struggle there for the improvement of the present system, and are effectively helping it, the regime, to grow stronger, to become more stable. But we see this Duma only as a stage in the struggle against the regime, that is, to use Yeltsin's language, we are running for this Duma in order to send it packing. When? When we can get labor collectives to take up the struggle and replace the Duma form with Soviets.

[Garifullina] What parties are in your bloc?

[Tyulkin] The RCWP, the Russian Party of Communists [RPC], "Working Russia," the United Front of Working People, part of the "Zashchita" trade union, various movements like "Zashchita Detstva" and the Congress of Soviet Women. That is, we have somehow managed to unite the stalwart, left-wing, communist forces, although the forces are not that great. Now why did those who promised to unite with the statists, patriots, agrarians, trade unions, and socialists not come to have a unifying mission? They paid no attention to the communists.

[Garifullina] But although no union came about, is it not possible at least to refrain from fighting among yourselves in the elections, to refrain from criticizing one another?

[Tyulkin] Where possible we coordinate actions and we will continue to do so. But we will have to explain to people why we are not together, why it happened, and do so from the viewpoint of history, beginning with perestroyka and the course toward the market. The continuation of this today is the mixed economy, political pluralism, and opting for a government of people's salvation or confidence. Since our friends-cum-rivals have an overwhelming advantage via the papers SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA and parliament, while we do not, we will be forced to use the election campaign to explain the situation.

Now Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov put forward the "Power to the People!" slogan, indeed many of his fellow citizens associate him with socialism, as head of the USSR government. Although he did not listen to us at the 28th CPSU Congress when we warned that Gorbachev's course would end in the country's collapse and its turning capitalist.

The slogan "Power to the People!" without a means of implementation via soviets could turn into a cover for a Russian bourgeois parliamentary system, in which power would belong to the section of the people that has money. That, essentially, is the result of a centrist policy, according to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. And Lenin believed that centrism was one of the worst kinds of opportunism, in which the centrists have the left wing pinned down, preventing it from smacking the right wing in the mouth.

[Garifullina] But it seems to me that you have a somewhat different situation here. The Russian National Union [RNU] is not a classic left-wing organization. Serge Nikolayevich Baburin describes its place in the political spectrum as left of center. It has its own niche, its own electorate. The RNU was set up after August 1991 and has gone its own way....

[Tyulkin] In no way am I criticizing Baburin. The problem is that Yeltsin's objective of cutting off the left fringe means not "banning" but creating conditions where people cannot get their proper bearings; the appearance of a vast number of blocs of all kinds of veterans, trade unions, "Power to the People!", "Our Future" (all kinds of others workers' blocs could be

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launched, and the money would be provided) will help erode this left fringe. And their task is not so much to vault the 5-percent barrier as to take two or three or even one-half of a percent from the truly consistent opposition.

I would like to make another point. We are called the intransigent opposition. From the viewpoint of the class approach that is a true definition. Because when it comes to personalities there is more than enough opposition to Yeltsin — from Zyuganov to Rutskoy, from Zhirinovskiy to Yavlinskiy. But most of this "opposition" would happily slot into a political system that involved making the country capitalist, including many of those who call themselves communists and socialists. They try to justify themselves by espousing socialism reformism, a mixed economy, political pluralism, the parliamentary system, a government of people's confidence, and so on. There is evidently a strong desire to occupy the classic niche of opposition party in a "civilized" bourgeois state. They would seem to be criticizing the actual name communist and, moreover, the regime.... But really at best they are putting ointment on tender areas and do not have the courage to raise the fundamental question of power.

It is interesting that political scientists and the media have aptly christened "pink" the opposition that criticizes Yeltsin but is breaking its back to adapt to the system. You can sit down at the negotiating table with them, as Yeltsin said, they are "reasonable communists." Now our bloc and those in it are the most intransigent opposition to the present political system.

[Garifullina] So it is appropriate to ask: What are your bloc's aims?

[Tyulkin] We have no illusions and we are making no promises about turning the country toward socialism when we get into parliament, although we profoundly believe that the salvation of Russia lies that way. Why are we making no promises? Because the working people and left-wing forces will never win by the parliamentary method. The system of bourgeois parliamentarianism was not developed over centuries only for it to be used to infringe the interests of the authorities and of the well-off. Therefore our parliamentary work program is one of propaganda and organization of forces to fight for the maximum objectives.

As for the maximum program, it is to replace the current regime, give power back to working people, abolish the Belovezhskaya agreements and start restoring the USSR, and restore Soviet power from the bottom to the top — from labor collective to the congress, to which government and head of state are accountable. Abolition of the results of privatization and return of the spoils to the people — from factories, plants, and land, to rights to education, public health, housing, and so on. Restoration of planned, scientific, state management of a unified national economic complex. And, finally, the abolition of all antipopular structures — all those mayors, peers, prefects, governors, and the actual institutions of the presidency. Then the implementation of the program for the country's development along socialist lines, known as the Program of the USSR Shadow Government. But that is another matter, a major one.

[Garifullina] O.K., let us suppose you are in power. The country's economy is in ruins, plants are at a standstill, production has declined further than in the years of the Great Patriotic War, and you have unheard-of inflation. Where do you begin, what do you do?

[Tyulkin] First of all we would stop the looting of the people's property, which is a flourishing pastime these days, and halt the deliberately provoked collapse, whereby you have plants at a standstill and a small section of society getting richer and richer. You have to stop and abolish privatization and introduce a state monopoly of the banking system, on foreign trade, by 90 percent plus, and on vodka and tobacco — you had this under the czar. The deeper the crisis, the more dictatorial the methods we will have to use to get out of it. A dictatorship for the benefit of the majority of the working people is a democratic measure.

[Garifullina] Are you not afraid of accusations that you will unleash a war once you come to power? Incidentally, a division of property is going on at the moment, but the people remain silent. Everything they made with their own hands is being taken away from them, and they remain silent. There is no civil war.

[Tyulkin] There is one going on, and not only in Chechnya. Figures like Borovoy try to suggest that if we are not being shot and people are not being hanged from lamp-posts, there is no civil war. Yet the Russian population is diminishing by one million every year as a result of the "reforms." According to the demographers, nearly 4.5 million births have been lost since 1987. Is that not war?

[Garifullina] But the parties are having it out with one another....

[Tyulkin] Yes, although this process of "having it out" is deeply meaningful. Lenin spent half his life having it out with opportunists. The best way to neutralize a detachment is to head it and lead it away.

Now to return to the theme of the civil war. Look at the way people like Borovoy, [IZVESTIYA columnist Yevgeniya] Albats, and [Radio Liberty correspondent Mark] Deutch are bleating on: "Oooh, they want blood,

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they favor violence!" I would say this is a typical bug view. Here you have a bug — he favors civil accord, he cannot live without a human being; he sits on the human being and drinks his blood, and when he starts being crushed he lets out a blood-curdling yell: "Bloodshed, violence!" A crude comparison, of course, but after all these parasites are asking the working people: "Have patience, the reforms are about to bear fruit!" The people have been patient for a year, two years, three years, and so on, while they are laughing all the way to the bank — there are several thousand of them in the country, driving around in Volvos and Mercedes, buildings dachas in the Canaries, and sending their children to foreign universities, while they try to tell us to be patient, the results will come.

Complicated things have to be explained to people in simple language. People are being divided into masters and servants, who are looked on as cattle, louts, ignorant Soviets, and that's all. We are against this division.

[Garifullina] You favor a socialist revolution. Again your opponents say: It leads to bloodshed and Russia has exhausted the revolutionary option.

[Tyulkin] We have already seen that violence is going on today and there have been rivers of blood. So when the opponents say: Are you after civil war again? — that is ludicrous. We favor the use of force against those who are pursuing an antipopular policy, who are exploiting the working people, who are busy looting, who are building their own prosperity on the people's tragedy. But it depends on the situation whether there is any shooting or not. Revolution is the replacement of a social-political system, and the situation decides whether it is peaceful, nonpeaceful, quiet, leaden, instantaneous. The people will end up having nothing to eat and children will be swollen with hunger — and their patience will run out; well, you have only yourselves to blame, gentlemen.

Of course we would like it all to happen peacefully, with minimum losses, and better still without any losses, and that is our aim. We must attain a level of organization whereby not a single sober-minded person among those who have grown rich appropriating the nation's property would dare to oppose the working people, with their close ties with the Army and Navy, in which the children of working people are serving, but will pack his suitcase and hightail it abroad by some prearranged emergency route. Although I think that option is unlikely. The working people have a right to establish laws and recover by civilized, legal means what has been taken from them.

[Garifullina] Viktor Arkadyevich, isn't this why you are accused of extremism, isn't it this that alienated you from the civilized communists in the CPRF?

[Tyulkin] Marxist science provided the answer a long time ago. We use legal methods and act within the Constitution and the laws in order not to put our heads on Yeltsin's and his satraps' block. But we are fighting against the laws whereby our people are being robbed and exploited and we intend to establish other — just — laws.

[Garifullina] What is the worst possible thing that could happen to the communist movement in our country?

[Tyulkin] Our foreign comrades tell us and write to us saying that we could get a very dangerous situation whereby the people are disenchanted with the social democrats, have not found a left-wing future with the help of the communists, including the "convenient" ones, and turn to fascism on the rebound. Who are the "convenient" ones? Once we had a discussion about a foreign communist party, which is not one actually, but it acts as a lightning conductor, "lets the steam out of the boiler," and the son of a political emigre, a mere stripling, contemptuously spat: "A butterfly net for honest communists." That is, the regime specially creates and controls a party, honest communists come along, and they are netted. So, no matter how difficult it might be, we must retain the party in its pure — Marxist — form.

The worst thing that could happen as far as the communist movement is concerned is for the country to turn capitalist under the Red banner and with the Soviet Union's anthem. The communists would definitely lose all credibility. Our task is to make sure that Russia is not left without a true communist party and workers movement.

**Fedorov Presents Program for 'Forward, Russia!'**

*MK0510091195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 2*

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov: "Boris Fedorov Does Not Believe in Current Financial Stabilization. Leader of 'Forward, Russia!' Believes His Movement To Be Similar to the British Conservative Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Fedorov, leader of the "Forward, Russia!" electoral bloc, presented his association's electoral program at the Chamber of Industry and Commerce yesterday [3 October]. Since the majority of participants represented various economic structures, at issue was primarily the situation in the national economy.

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The economic policy conception of "Forward, Russia!" is based on the principles of "encouraging economic growth and employment in order to boost budget revenues" and "financial discipline and reducing the budget deficit and inflation to support economic reform." Mr. Fedorov does not have too much faith in the substantiveness and durability of "the financial stabilization," describing it as "a wish on the part of Chubays and Chernomyrdin." He thinks that the currency peg, being in effect against a backdrop of rising prices, could result in "export industries being possibly closed."

Referring to his relations with other democratic organizations, Mr. Fedorov acknowledged that their programmatic differences are "not essential," as there are differences in the details only. In his attempt to classify democrats in accordance with the British pattern, the leader of "Forward, Russia!" claimed: "We are more like the Conservatives; Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and "Yabloko" are the Laborites; and Yegor Gaydar's "Democratic Choice," the Liberal Democrats, having only a few seats in parliament."

Boris Fedorov's fellow member in the "Forward, Russia!" movement, State Duma Deputy Aleksandr Zhukov, said that "sentiments have not taken a favorable turn" for market reforms in society, the Duma, and the government of late. Mr. Zhukov substantiated his fears by citing the fact that two versions of a draft law "On Nationalization" have been circulated in the Duma, one of them, fully "civilized," being a creation of Mr. Tomchin, a "Russia's Choice" member, and another describing nationalization "in exactly the same way we perceive it." [sentence as published]

### 'Power to the People!' Leader Holds News Conference

*LD0410222795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Power to the People election alliance hopes for a "significant representation in the State Duma", one of its leaders Sergey Baburin has said. He was speaking at a news conference in Moscow.

He said various opinion polls and analytical surveys confirmed that most voters would support patriotic forces.

Baburin said that Power to the People's federal list consisted of 270 candidates and another 113 would run in single mandate constituencies.

Baburin said that the Power to the People bloc was currently gathering the required 200,000 signatures in support of its federal list.

He said that the Communist and agrarian parties, trade unions and "to a certain extent" the Congress of Russian Communities were the Power to the People's allies.

About Rutskov's Great Power alliance Baburin said he saw "no reason why we should cooperate with it."

Baburin described as political opponents the movement Our Home is Russia, Russia's Choice, and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

Baburin said that Power to the People's leader Nikolay Ryzhkov ended a visit to Kazakhstan on Wednesday. He was invited by President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Power to the People's federal list is led by former Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Russian National Union Sergey Baburin and leader of mothers' movement "For Social Justice" Yelena Shuvalova.

### Zemskiy Sobor Exhorts 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality'

*MM0510090795 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Tamara Smirnova: "The Powerful Aspirations of 'Zemskiy Sobor'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The nearer the elections draw, the more crowded it becomes on the political stage. New parties and associations are constantly declaring themselves. The other day "Zemskiy Sobor" joined this noisy chorus.

The "Zemskiy Sobor — Union of Cossacks, Zemstvo, and Orthodox Patriotic Organizations of Russia" bloc held its constituent congress in September 1995. In the opinion of Mikhail Astafyev, chairman of the All-Russia National Law Center, it is an attempt to bring together people of closely related orientation and thinking. Some groups sprinkle their ranks with Cossacks in uniform, others with priests in cassocks. But this is window dressing, a masquerade, and no more. "Zemskiy Sobor," its creators claim, is the only organization which does not put on vulgar window dressing. It declares at the top of its voice the paramount importance of defending the Russian [russkiy] people as the founder and backbone of Russian [Rossiyskaya] statehood.

The destruction of a great country has led to 25 million ethnic Russians finding themselves under different flags, deprived of their Fatherland. The Russian Federation autonomies also are clearly geared toward a confederate model. The "Zemskiy Sobor" bloc believes that the current situation cannot be recognized as the final result of 1,000 years of Russian statehood because it is not a question of dispersal in foreign countries, but the arbitrary division of a unified people on its own

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historical territory. The Russian people possess national sovereignty and have the right to reunite.

"We will restore Russian statehood at any cost," the bloc's leader, Vyacheslav Klykov, president of the International Foundation for Slavic Literature and Culture, declared. "Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. Those are the bulwarks which support Russia."

In the ranks of the election association the Zemstvo movement, the Union of Cossack Forces, the Worldwide Russian Assembly, the Russian National Union, and other Orthodox and patriotic organizations subscribe to the correctness of this idea. They advocate the reconstitution of Russia within its previous borders and campaign for the priority of cultural values. "Zemskiy Sobor's" election program definitely shows the outlines of tough opposition to blocs not formed on ethnic lines [beznatsionalnyye bloki].

The bloc names more than 200 candidate deputies for the country's parliament. The near future will show whether "Zemskiy Sobor's" ideas will meet with a response in the hearts and minds of the voters.

## Election Guidelines

### Government Workers Can Keep Jobs During Elections

*LD0310201695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1731 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 3 (INTERFAX) — Two high-ranking Russian jurists said on Tuesday there was no law to make it binding for members of government who wished to stand for parliament to suspend office pending the end of the election.

Mikhail Krasnov, President Boris Yeltsin's law aide, and Mikhail Mityukov, first deputy speaker of the State Duma, the lower house of parliament, told INTERFAX there was only one draft law which, if passed, would prohibit a government member running for election from holding office until the election was over.

Yet government members are not allowed to use their official positions in their election campaigns, Krasnov and Mityukov said. Krasnov said enforcement of this rule was the responsibility of the Central Electoral Commission. But "the candidate deputy's own level of ethical awareness" is no less important, he added.

## Forecasts & Commentary

### Expert Institute Head Predicts 'Anti-Yeltsin' Duma

*LD0510090495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0801 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Communist Party of Russia led by Gennadiy Zyuganov will get the majority of votes in the coming parliamentary elections in December.

Taking into account the prognosticated election results in single-mandate constituencies, the Communist Party will have a total of 80-90 seats in the new State Duma, Director of the Expert Institute under the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Andrey Neshchadin told a press conference in Moscow today.

Neshchadin said the Communist Party of Russia would canvass only 20% of votes on its federal list of candidates (about 50 parliamentary seats) and could have 30 of its candidates elected in single-mandate constituencies. He said he believed that the Yabloko electoral bloc led by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy would get 11% of votes and not more than 35 parliamentary seats.

Neshchadin said the Our Home is Russia electoral bloc might receive 8%-10% of votes for its party ticket and also get about 30 parliamentary seats through single-mandate constituencies. The Our Home is Russia may thus have a total of about 60-70 parliamentary seats.

Neshchadin said he believed that these three blocs would be followed by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy which might get a little more than 30 seats in the new parliament.

Neshchadin said he thought that the Agrarian Party of Russia would have 35 parliamentary seats as well as the Congress of Russian Communities.

He said the Women of Russia bloc was likely to have from 20 to 25 seats in the new State Duma.

Neshchadin said he believed that the remainder of parliamentary seats would be occupied by about 20 other parties and movements, among which he named the Derzhava movement led by Aleksandr Rutskoy, the Forward Russia movement led by Boris Fedorov, Russia's Democratic Choice led by Yegor Gaydar and the Power —For People movement led by Nikolay Ryzhkov.

"The new State Duma will be anti-Yeltsin in its composition and the government of Viktor Chernomyrdin should not count on confidence in the cabinet," Neshchadin said.

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**Electoral Commission's Defiance Jeopardizes Election**

*MM0410103095 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Valeriy Smirnov: "Supreme Court Ruling Not Binding for Central Electoral Commission"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two and a half months before the elections it is becoming increasingly obvious that the regally approved strategy of dividing the legislature between two sham parties has suffered total failure. And this is not just because Rybkin's "left center" has burst like a soap bubble. The Kremlin is increasingly realizing that the voting masses do not intend to vote for the government bloc "Russia Is Our Home." And so the question "Will the elections take place or not?" is probably by no means an idle question in the czar's chambers. And it would appear that the Central Electoral Commission [CEC] is already beginning to prepare to answer it in its own way.

In our view, the unprecedented saga of the registration of the "National Salvation Front" [FNS] electoral bloc testifies precisely to this.

The documents on the formation of the electoral bloc were submitted to the CEC back on 21 August, but the latter did not like the name FNS (without any expansion of the abbreviation). And although the Law on Elections does not allow the commission to protest the names of electoral associations, the CEC refused to register the electoral bloc. The Supreme Court, as was to have been expected, corrected the CEC, calling on it to repeal its resolution.

...And now the CEC is submitting for the Supreme Court's examination what is already the third decision to refuse to register the "National Salvation Front" electoral bloc. The court obliged the CEC to register the bloc not later than 28 September. But this meant nothing to the CEC. Finally the Supreme Court's patience snapped, and it is sending a court order to the Basmannyy Intermunicipal Rayon Court to ensure that the law is enforced. This step is comparable only with the sensational decision of a Moscow judge to summon the defense minister to a rayon court.

If the CEC succeeds in breaking the law on this occasion, in principle the results of the December elections could be challenged anytime. Is this not the reason behind the CEC's unprecedented deafness to the Supreme Court's ruling?

**Daily Defends Army Participation in Election**

*MM0410135395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Article by Anatoliy Stasovskiy under the "Election-95" rubric: "Relevant Notes": "Campaign for Deputies' Seats. For Military People Today This Is One of the Few Ways of Drawing Attention to the Army's Woes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The December parliamentary elections are still a long way off. But many election issues are already generating a stormy debate. In particular, there have been very many articles in the press about the fact that at the moment an unusually high proportion of people who have announced their intention to run for the Duma come from the Armed Forces. "The Military Are Storming the Duma" and "Grachev Announces Fall Draft of Deputies" — there have been plenty of headlines like that in various publications. Nothing has actually happened yet, but some people are already beginning to wonder: Might the military not try to take advantage of their official position? Some even go so far as to say that they doubt servicemen's legal right to elect and be elected to parliament. This is dangerous for society, they say...

What I want to ask is this: What are you playing at, gentlemen? You have prompted servicemen to take this course of action by your policy and cynical attitude toward the Army's problems. In a normal society, election activeness on the part of the military is, let us say, superfluous. That was why the Defense Ministry leadership advised against the nomination of prospective deputies from the Armed Forces before the 1993 elections. What was the result? We have lobbyists representing the most diverse departments and sectors in the legislative organ. But there are very few people there who really care for the country's defense in deeds rather than merely in word. As a result we have a simply crazy situation with the military budget, a very grave recruitment crisis, and the non-stop denigration of military people.

These bitter lessons were bound to be learned. The military understood that the situation could well be repeated in the forthcoming elections. Again there will be promises and bombastic election programs and slogans. And then — it will all prove to be so much hot air.

Given that the legislators turned their backs on us at the most difficult and crucial moments and given that deputies were found lacking in competence, there can be only one solution — we must take the initiative into our own hands. Now we have an impressive figure of 123 candidate deputies from the Armed Forces (their

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number could perhaps rise). It is not the military's fault that they are engaging in uncharacteristic political activity, rather it is their misfortune, and there is really no other word for it either literally or figuratively. That misfortune provided a lesson and a motivation. And no one is going to persuade me that in a normal, calm, and well-ordered atmosphere the military man would, with rare exceptions, of course, make a rational decision to strike out from the Army's shore and set sail into the uncharted waters of the political process. These ways are too many and varied. However, if someone has decided to embark on this serious step you may be sure that he has weighed everything up and thought it through many times over.

People might object that there are servicemen already in the present Duma — why is their voice not heard, why do they not defend the interests of their brothers in arms? That is a good question. But let us consider who these people are. The result of entrusting the power to protect servicemen's rights to those people who do no more than declare elegantly and categorically that "the Army is outside politics" is that the "military" voice has become barely audible in parliament. It was almost the official view that the servicemen-deputy is an absurdity and the exception to the rule. In the objective situation that had unfortunately developed, were really committed people able to represent the Army in the Duma? Surely not. The real professionals largely recoiled from politics. Instead parliament was filled by people who forgot long ago what military service and the Army's life are like. Those people who harbored grudges against the Defense Ministry and their command. The "Army dissident" ticket became virtually a free pass into the State Duma. What can you expect from that kind of military deputy faction apart from lunatic "reformist" ideas? Of course, I do not have in mind that forlorn minority of parliamentarians who really tried to support the Army and help it survive.

Newspaper articles and TV broadcasts today are making a song and dance about the "huge" number of servicemen ready to fight for a place in parliament. In the main the picture is painted in somber tones. But why is that? Will it really be a bad thing if serious people who have personal experience not just of the Army's problems but of many other state problems enter the Duma? If they enter the Duma not by some underground means or because of enormous financial backing but quite legitimately on the basis of the election results?

The regrettable thing today is that it is still impossible to speak of the unity of the prospective deputies from the Armed Forces or of their common election platform or program. A whole series of prominent generals and other officers have "fragmented" among the many parties, parties, and movements. Let us just hope that this "fragmentation" does not persist when those who are elected to the new parliament begin work there. It seems to me personally that by far the best route for the military candidate deputy is via the single-seat district.

Meanwhile, I would like to believe that regardless of today's political attachments military candidates, with very few exceptions, remain spiritually united. Perhaps they are not even aware of it themselves. This means that we can fully expect that those military candidates who win the voters' trust will play by no means the least significant role on parliamentary committees connected with the state's defense capability and security and the social protection of servicemen. There can be no other outcome. It would not make sense. That is what Army candidate deputies and voters must understand today.

Incidentally, nowadays you do not just hear envious complaints about the participation of servicemen in the election campaign. Quite a few authoritative people are saying that in the prevailing conditions it could be no other way. You also hear it said, quite rightly, that the Army has set to work itself without waiting for protection from society and the state structures. Many sober-minded people believe that this alarm signal should be taken seriously.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is a military newspaper. There is nothing reprehensible in the fact that it fully supports candidates from the Armed Forces. We have nothing to hide here. We have also learned something. From bitter experience again. There are certain rules and strict guidelines in this matter, of course. We have no intention of breaking them. But Armed Forces voters are our readers and we assure them that they will have the fullest possible picture of the pre-election events connected one way or another with the Army's problems.

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**ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Oct**

*LD0510091995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753 GMT 5 Oct 95*

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 5 (Itar-Tass) — The latest rumours about a resignation of premier Viktor Chernomyrdin which were also supported by several articles in the IZVESTIYA newspaper, disappeared, almost completely, into thin air after a meeting between the premier and the Russian president on Tuesday.

However, in the opinion of the above daily, they worked, all the same, in favour of Yuriy Skokov, leader of the Congress of Russian Communities. He came from the backstage to the national limelight as a result of these rumours, which gave him many points in his election campaign.

It is clear that there are many ardent supporters of the Congress of Russian Communities among Yeltsin's aides, IZVESTIYA claims.

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and IZVESTIYA newspapers feature reports on the autumn session of the State Duma (Russian parliament lower chamber) which opened on October 4. IZVESTIYA points to two main elements in its work.

Firstly, legislators decided against raising the question of no-confidence in the government, concluding evidently that "it is cheaper and more convenient to conduct the election campaign by relying on opportunities offered by the status of a deputy: political dividends which can be gained from dissolving the Duma are uncomparable with such advantages".

Secondly, absence of lawmakers in the lower chamber wishing to express open support for the policy of the president and the government. IZVESTIYA believes that the overwhelming majority of political forces in Russia will go to the polls, criticising the executive arm of government.

Articles printed in the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspapers, deal with the autumn conscription into the Russian army, which started on October 1. The two dailies point to the present difficulties with the enlistment which has become a headache for the Defence Ministry leadership.

According to the ministry's information, only 23 percent of 18-year-olds are called up for military service now. Ten times more teenagers dodged military service this year than two years ago.

In this connection, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI notes, the military registration and enlistment offices shut eyes to many ailments of conscripts. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stresses that local authorities do not create conditions to preserve the health of conscripts.

Total disease incidence among them rose by 80 percent over the past three years. In the opinion of medics, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes, ulcer diseases and rising cardiovascular ailments among young people reflect, above all, the unhealthy social situation in the country.

The best detectives in St. Petersburg are hunting for an assassin of board chairman of the Baltic shipping line. However, this does not give a guarantee that the executor and his customers will be found and punished, writes IZVESTIYA in an article on versions of another murder of a prominent Russian businessman.

The daily expresses a general idea about complete defencelessness of not only businessmen but also rank-and-file citizens from criminal encroachments.

In the article "Everyone wants to be a legislator", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA quotes chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov as saying that information comes from law enforcement bodies that some people from the lists of election blocs are under investigation or on "wanted lists".

In this connection, the commission intends to publish information on criminal activities of some candidates. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI continues this topic with an article describing activities by notorious swindler Mavrodi who deceived millions of people and was elected to the Russian parliament.

Today is World Teacher's Day, and the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA newspaper tries to describe the present state of 500,000 Russian teachers.

The position of schoolteachers is now very difficult: the prestige of the profession plummets, several dozen thousands of teachers have left school, and wage arrears to teachers run into many billions of roubles.

IZVESTIYA describes the results of the sixth annual competition "Teacher of the Year", for which 80 teachers came to Moscow. Most of them are winners of regional competitions.

The TRUD newspaper features the article "In search for lost brotherhood" by deputy speaker of the Federation Council (Russian parliament upper chamber) Ramazan Abdulatipov, suggesting how to ensure national accord in Russia.

The author points to the danger of turning national revival of numerous peoples in the Russian Federation

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into nationalist aspirations and claims it is necessary to adopt a system of measures aimed at guaranteed protection of ethnic rights of individual persons and national minorities over all post-Soviet space.

The PRAVDA newspaper, referring to director of the Economic Analysis Institute A. Illarionov, claims that Russia will be the biggest debtor in the world during this year, beating the record of Brazil which totals 122 billion U.S. dollars.

Russia's debt will be 130 billion dollars, PRAVDA writes.

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### Foreign Minister Kozyrev Holds Talks in Norway

#### Discusses NATO Moves

*LD0410211595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1939 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Oslo, 4 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — Andrey Kozyrev today received assurances from Norway that the lifting of the ban on NATO military exercises east of the 24th meridian is not aimed at damaging Russia's interests. To a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, the Russian minister said he discussed this topic in detail at today's meeting with the Norwegian prime minister.

"Gro Harlem Brundtland assured us that this is not a question of any change in Norway's policy towards Russia, but of adjustments to out-of-date regulations," Kozyrev said. "If this were otherwise, we would be worried because such change would not fit in with the process of creating a new system of European security. We shall be closely following the consequences of Norway's decision," the foreign minister added.

For his part, the Norwegian Foreign Minister Bjoern Tore Godal said to an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "the previously adopted regulations should be constantly reviewed." He noted that if Norway followed the previous decisions, it could not, for example, invite the military from Russia, Finland, and Sweden to carry out joint maneuvers to carry out exercises on humanitarian actions. Bjoern Tore Godal said such maneuvers, code-named 'Pomor,' in which Russia has also taken part, were already held in 1994 near the shores of Finnmark, Norway's northern province. Neither the Norwegian nor the Russian minister concealed the differences in their opinions on NATO's plans for expansion to the east. Kozyrev said "this is one serious matter which Russia will be disputing." At the same time, he stressed that the attempts to re-create the image of an enemy, either of NATO or of Russia, will not be tolerated.

#### Criticizes Latest NATO Air Strikes

*LD0410193195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1912 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Oslo, 4 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — Russia is opposed to NATO strikes against Bosnian Serbs. That is what Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is in Norway, said in response to the news that NATO had carried out air strikes today against Serb positions in Bosnia.

Speaking at a news conference in Oslo today, he said that Russia is actively making efforts to halt military strikes in Bosnia from any side whatsoever.

"A cessation of fire by all sides, including NATO," he stressed, "is the prime task."

#### Rules Out Agreement on Barents Sea

*LD0410211195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2038 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] OSLO, October 4 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Wednesday that President Boris Yeltsin will sign a package of bilateral agreements including a political document on principles of relations between Russia and Norway during his November visit to Oslo.

At the same time, Kozyrev ruled out a possibility that during Yeltin's visit any accord would be reached on a demarcation line in disputed areas of the Barents Sea. "It is a complex problem with a long history. It should be approached in a thorough and well balanced way on a level of experts, not drawn to the high political level", he told a news conference, adding that teams of Russian and Norwegian experts will meet in April 1996 to discuss the issue.

#### Cooperation Agreements Signed

*LD0410214195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2025 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Oslo, 4 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — During his visit to Oslo in November Boris Yeltsin will sign a whole number of bilateral agreements including a major political document on the principles governing relations between Russia and Norway. This was stated here today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. [passage omitted]

As a result of today's meeting of the Russian-Norwegian commission on economic, industrial and, scientific-technical cooperation under the chairmanship of Andrey Kozyrev and [Norwegian Foreign Minister] Bjoern Tore Godal, the sides signed a number of agreements. They pertain to measures to rescue people stricken by disaster in the Barents Sea, cooperation in the sphere of nuclear safety in northern Europe, and the encouragement and reciprocal protection of investments.

"The development of broad cooperation with Russia is a main line of Norwegian foreign policy," Bjoern Tore

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Godal said, summing up the result of his talks today with his Russian counterpart. He noted that the next time the two foreign ministers will meet will be at the session of the Barents Sea regional council, which will be held next week in the Finnish town of Rovaniemi. At the session Russia will begin acting as chairman of the regional organization.

**Comments on Bosnia, Departs for Murmansk**

*LD0510122495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] OSLO October 5 (Itar-Tass) — The visit of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to Norway which ended on Thursday was extremely eventful. Kozyrev and his Norwegian counterpart Bjoern Tore Godal said that the results of the visit are "an important contribution to the development of a political dialogue between Russia and Norway." The announcement by the sides that Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Norway is planned for November 20-21 was one of the main news that caught attention.

Kozyrev met with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and conducted negotiations with the Norwegian Foreign Minister. The sides reaffirmed their attitudes to NATO's eastward expansion and noted that the differences in the views on the matter must not interfere with goodneighbourly relations.

The Russian Foreign Minister was given assurances by Norway that the lifting of the ban on holding NATO military exercises in the Norwegian territory, in districts adjacent to the Russian border does not threaten Russia's interests. It was noted that the sides will continue the quest for a mutually-acceptable solution to a dispute about the divide between Norway and Russia in the Barents Sea.

The Russian and Norwegian Foreign Ministers presided over the meeting of the Russo-Norwegian commission on economic, industrical, scientific and technical cooperation. The sides have signed a number of agreements as a result, — on measures for the rescue of people in distress in the Barents Sea, cooperation in nuclear safety in Nordic Europe, encouragement and mutual protection of invetsment.

Kozyrev left Oslo for Murmansk on Thursday.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 1156 GMT on 5 October in a identically datelined report by Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Pshenichnikov adds: "'In spite of the latest outbursts of violent actions, including NATO bombing raids on Serb positions in Bosnia, Russian diplomats, led by Igor Ivanov, and hand in hand with their colleagues from the Contact group are nevertheless exerting persistent efforts to achieve a ceasefire in Bosnia. Of decisive importance in this connection are the initiatives lately voiced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin,' Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Itar-Tass today. He made this statement at Oslo airport before flying to Murmansk after ending his visit to Norway."]

**Kozyrev: Moscow To Make Further Proposals on Bosnia**

*LD0410131995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1237 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (Interfax) — Russia is expected to make additional proposals Wednesday aimed at the earliest possible attainment of a ceasefire agreement in Bosnia, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Interfax in Moscow Wednesday before his departure to Oslo and Murmansk.

He said that the Russian side would propose initiatives dealing with various aspects of the problem.

During First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov's visit to the Balkans, beginning Wednesday, talks will be held with different parties, including the Serbs, to find out their terms for ceasefire, said Kozyrev.

In this respect, it is important that Sarajevo and Gorazde be unblocked and reliable conditions created for the supplies of humanitarian aid, he went on to say.

He emphasized that the other side (the Muslim-Croat side — Interfax) must demonstrate restraint and put the stake on peaceful settlement and, possibly, depart from some of its positions.

To quote Kozyrev, the Moscow talks with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic of Bosnia and Herzegovina "inspired hope" in this respect.

Kozyrev said that "as long as combat operations continue in Bosnia, it is difficult to talk about progress in the peace process." "The most important thing now is to achieve cease-fire," he said.

**Kozyrev Denounces Idea of 'Punishing' Bosnian Serbs**

*LD0310204295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 3 (Interfax) — Russia has a unique chance of contributing to the speedy termination of hostilities in Bosnia, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev declared Tuesday [3 October] after

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his Moscow talks with Bosnian Prime-Minister Haris Silajdzic.

"We will make additional efforts towards a cease fire and hopefully will bring the sides closer to such an agreement", he said.

According to the minister, it is extremely important for Russia to avoid the partiality characteristic of the approach of several other countries to the Bosnian problem.

"A balanced unprejudiced approach aimed at making all Slavic peoples in ex-Yugoslavia stop the fratricide and begin a peaceful life is the only possibility of putting an end to the crisis of stability in Europe and guaranteeing Russian interests in the Balkans," Kozyrev said.

According to him, the principle of equality is a key to a settlement, while all the rest is derivative.

The final settlement should recognize the equality of all the three Bosnian communities because the discrimination of at least one will be a constant source of conflicts, Kozyrev said.

He denounced the idea of punishing Bosnian Serbs. "If the talk continues, there is going to be no proper settlement. Such a settlement is bound to explode," the minister stressed.

Kozyrev announced that a their meeting Silajdzic spoke of the principle of equality with regard to the map of Bosnian division and the future constitution of the country. "This is an enormous achievement," the foreign minister stressed. According to him, they also discussed economic reconstruction and development in all republics of ex-Yugoslavia in the post- war period.

In this context Kozyrev stressed that the removal of sanctions against Belgrade is of paramount importance for Russia. "However, this is not an aim in itself. The main thing is that Yugoslavia could participate in reconstruction as an equal," he added.

Kozyrev did not want Russian involvement to end with the stage of the political settlement. It is important for us to carry on this political potential to economic ties, the minister said.

**Ivanov Comments After Talks With Milosevic**

*LD0410195595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1938 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Ivan Ivanov and Valeriy Sevryukov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BELGRADE, October 4 (Itar-Tass) — Russia stands for putting an early end to military actions in Bosnia and concluding an agreement on ceasing hostilities by the conflicting parties, Russian First Deputy Foreign minister Igor Ivanov told journalists here today after the end of talks with President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic.

Replying to a query about contents of the talks held with the Serbian head of state, the diplomat only said that they discussed questions related to a peaceful settlement of the crisis on the Balkans. Ivanov added that he conveyed a message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Milosevic. However, he preferred to remain silent on details of the message's contents. He only emphasized that Russia is ready to do anything for a speedy achievement of a peaceful solution to the crisis.

A Serbian presidential office report, summing up the results of the talks, said that views were exchanged on topical issues related to putting an end to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the creation of conditions conducive to a complete stabilization on the Balkans. Both sides expressed support to efforts to expedite the peace process and to convene a new international conference in which a political treaty could be concluded on a comprehensive peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Reaching such an agreement will mean laying a basis for lifting international sanctions from Yugoslavia.

Other questions discussed at the meeting were the development of bilateral Russian-Yugoslav relations, including in the sphere of economy and shipment of natural gas from Russia to Yugoslavia.

Ivanov is expected to meet military and political leadership of the Bosnian Serbs this evening, and on Monday he will head a Russian delegation in Rome at a regular session of the International "contact group" for settling the Bosnian crisis.

**Moscow 'Concerned' About Nuclear Weapons in E. Europe**

*LD0410181295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (Interfax) — Some of the Eastern European countries' plans to locate NATO nuclear weapons on their territory are potentially dangerous for Russia, a high-ranking representative of Russia's Defense Ministry told Interfax Wednesday [4 October], commenting on Polish President Lech Walesa's and other Eastern European leaders' plans to locate such weapons in their countries.

"We are concerned about the possibility of having nuclear weapons in direct vicinity of Russian borders," he said.

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"Russia's position on NATO's expansion through Eastern and Central Europe remains negative," he went on to say.

He also said that the admission of new members to NATO will upset the alignment of forces in Europe and that in such a context the CFE Treaty will no longer meet the interests of Russia's security.

"NATO is a military-political organization and its expansion towards Russia by admitting new members pursues military goals," he said.

**'Untimely' Comments on Stationing Nuclear Arms Deplored**

*MM0410192695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Sergey Dardykin: "Nuclear Weapons in Poland and the Czech Republic. If They Are Not Directed Against Russia, Then Who Are They Directed Against?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Evidently we will have to pay for the fraternity imposed by force by the mighty and indestructible Soviet Union on its East European neighbors for a long time yet.

Russian diplomacy had not had time to swallow the bitter pill prescribed by the recent Brussels sitting of the NATO Council, after which a decision on the future membership of the former allies and even former Union republics of the former USSR in the North Atlantic Alliance can be considered a fait accompli, and its practical implementation is only a question of time, before another blow was dealt to the solar plexus of the Kremlin and Smolenskaya Square. In a synchronized fashion, as though by arrangement, Polish President Lech Walesa and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus announced the possible stationing of NATO nuclear weapons on the territory of their countries.

To be honest, you can understand both Prague and Warsaw when, having been stuck for ages in the socialist camp, they now talk about the desirability of looking to the West. You can understand the desire of the East Europeans to hide under the NATO defensive umbrella, away from our Russian instability and unpredictability; many of us would like to hide from these things ourselves if there were somewhere to hide. Finally the readiness of the Czech Republic and Poland to throw open their borders to foreign warheads could have been excused by pressure from Washington and Brussels.

But no, sparing Russia's increasing sensitivity to the threat of external isolation, in the document on conditions and procedures relating to the acceptance of new members the long-time residents of the NATO bloc specially stipulate that the newcomers will not only not be obliged to have any NATO weapons, whether nuclear or conventional, on their territory if they join, but also that they do not have to join the NATO military organization at all, either at first or in the future, just as neither France and Spain are in it. Thus neither Klaus nor Walesa has had his arm twisted, and this is a question purely of initiatives on the part of Prague and Warsaw and of a desire by Prague and Warsaw to join NATO properly if they do so at all. The Czech prime minister compared NATO to a streetcar in which it would be unseemly for the Czechs to travel without having paid for a ticket. As though echoing his neighbor, the Polish president insisted on the need to pay full membership fees.

Consequently there is no semantic difference between the two statements, there is only a difference of nuance. Whereas Prague is talking about the future stationing of NATO warheads as a very likely but at the moment purely theoretical possibility, Warsaw is more specific: We will allow them to station them here, and that's it.

Clearly Russia today — and this has been demonstrated by the entire course of the preceding discussion between Moscow and the West on the expansion of NATO to the East — has no military, political, or economic levers that it can use in order to make its former allies "see sense." And all recent experience shows that the more we protest and the louder we protest against the eastward expansion of NATO, the more easily and quickly we achieve the opposite effect.

In the prevailing situation, it remains only to hope that statements which are untimely and inappropriate in the current political climate do not bring about a chain reaction of steps and countersteps which neither Russia nor Europe needs. And that everything does not come full circle, with Europe living under the shadow of nuclear warheads again. What is the difference where they are aimed at Poland or the Czech Republic from — the West, as was the case until quite recently, or the East, which will definitely happen if politicians are as careless in their actions as they are in their words.

**Motives for NATO's Eastward Expansion Questioned**

*MM0510082295 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Oct 95 p 1*

[Commentary by Grigoriy Karasin: "Clarity of Argument and Vagueness of Response"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When you talk to diplomats and journalists in European capitals, you are frequently faced with their puzzled questions as to why Russia

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is actually opposed to NATO's enlargement eastward. People frequently even try to talk about some desire on our part to secure the right of veto on this issue. You get the impression that people either cannot hear Russia's arguments or else do not want to hear them. But they are, after all, perfectly clear and really convincing.

No, this is not a question of the right of veto or of any special grievances. What is on the agenda is the question of the strategic security of the Russian state. And no one can really seriously dispute our right to be concerned about that.

A new situation currently prevails in Europe: There is no bloc-based confrontation, Russian troops have been completely withdrawn from the Central and East European and Baltic countries, and a unified Germany has come into being. There is absolutely no reason to speak of a real military threat. Finally, there is the Partnership for Peace program, which must be implemented. Moving NATO to the east, directly to Russia's borders, would mean the emergence of a fundamentally new military-strategic situation, which would radically contravene the interests of the new post-bloc Europe. No halfway-intelligible answer has been given so far to the natural question of why NATO is actually being enlarged and what aims are really being pursued by the alliance strategists.

If this is being done because of the threat coming from an "unstable Russia," then this should be stated for all to hear, and the very idea of partnership with the Russian Federation thus questioned. But if the West has other reasons, unknown to us, then there is no sense or logic that is obvious to the European, and primarily the Russian public, in keeping them quiet.

Against the backdrop of a clear reluctance for open confrontation with Russia on the question of the "ideology" of enlarging NATO, the attempt to operate "by stealth" is obvious. An unusually thick informational mist has been created recently as regards questions of the parameters, dates, and other technical details of the bloc's enlargement. Evidently an attempt is thus being made to reduce the fever pitch of political passions and "calm" Russia down, without putting the actual intention into any doubt whatsoever. However, these tactics are very transparent and can only mislead dilettantes.

It would be a good thing if Russia's arguments were nevertheless to be heard and finally heeded in the West. The seriousness of the situation calls for responsibility and state wisdom from the politicians who are adopting decisions which are truly momentous for Europe and the world. Otherwise the situation risks going back to "square one," and we will find ourselves in a situation where there will no longer be a place for the partnership which is currently being proclaimed.

You sometimes get the impression that a number of European capitals want to insure themselves quickly against all life's eventualities at someone else's expense. This is a naive and short- sighted attitude. If Russia perceives itself to be in danger, it is impossible for a reliable system of European and world security to be achieved. In my opinion we have already "been through this."

It would be a good thing if the NATO leadership were to proceed on this basis in practice.

### 'Realistic Partnership' With NATO Now Dead

*MM0510085595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 7*

[Article by Doctor of Political Sciences Igor Maksimychev of the Russian Academy of Sciences Europe Institute: "Uncompromising Force and the Shame of Impotence. Russia Has Experienced All This in the Balkan Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It would appear that everything is absolutely in order. The unrelenting two-week bombardment of the Bosnian Serb positions by NATO aircraft, supported by the Franco-British expeditionary force's vigorous actions and the combined Croat-Muslim forces' successful offensive, have had some effect. The defensive capacity of the Serb Republic has been seriously undermined (and clearly cannot be restored in the foreseeable future). Its government has been left with no other choice but to put itself at the mercy of the victors.

Negotiations on a cessation of military operations involving high-ranking representatives of Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade are being held behind closed doors. The Serbs are prepared to agree to practically anything. A few difficulties are arising but only as a consequence of the Croats and Muslims putting forward additional demands now that their tails are up. We can count on the trilateral negotiations (or to be more accurate the quadrilateral negotiations, taking into consideration the strong U.S. influence) ending soon due to Serb concessions. After all, all-powerful NATO, which from time to time reproaches its proteges in a fatherly manner for individual "naughty" acts, is standing menacingly behind the coalition opposing the Serbs, leaving us in no doubt that it will only bomb the latter.

In short, at present it looks as if the military clashes in Bosnia will cease in a little while as a result of the overwhelming superiority of one of the sides. Does this mean that it is possible to call it a day, thank NATO

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for its military efforts, and indulge in marveling at the wisdom of the UN Security Council together with its secretary general who, in the 50th year of the existence of this global organization, have finally found a way of resolving tangled, centuries-old interethnic and religious conflicts at comparatively little material expense to it? In other words, will the situation in Europe become more healthy and stable from now on? Is it possible to consider that the continent's sunny future, which all those involved in the momentous breakthrough of 1989/1990 swore they would bring closer, is guaranteed?

A whole series of factors in settling the Bosnian conflict prevent us from succumbing to unrestrained optimism. Even if we ignore the question of the durability of the peace, which will have to be backed up by the indefinite presence of what is in effect a NATO occupation force, and the constant threat to the Serbs of a resumption of massive bombing and shelling, the method chosen by the West (and until very recently supported by Russia) of mounting operations involving force in areas where this form of resolution is inappropriate, causes one to have some doubts.

The first thing which Europe will inevitably come up against after the end of the Bosnian conflict is the uncompromising use of force demonstrated by NATO. The symmetry that balanced the two concentrations of military power — the Warsaw Pact and NATO — has now disappeared. They played the role of counterbalance and neutralizer to one other. For the first five years of its solo existence, NATO decided not to cross the moral line of prosecuting a real war. Now this line has been crossed. Having lost its military innocence, NATO has cast off all restrictions (we are, of course, talking about self-imposed restrictions as since 1990 no external restraints on it have existed). The way that reprisals have been carried out against defenseless Bosnian Serbs is graphic evidence of this.

A second indisputable fact is that the arguments about NATO's intrinsic incapability of making a first strike have lost all credibility to the outside world. Up until now both NATO itself and its advocates were all in all fairly successful in using the argument that the democratic nature of the bloc and the equality of rights shared by all 16 of its members represent an insurmountable barrier to the alliance carrying out "unjust actions." Indeed, until Bosnia, no one could produce any specific proof of the contrary. Such proof does now exist. This cannot help but increase the already very great wariness of the Russian public with regard to the plans to extend the bloc eastward toward Russia's absolutely unprotected borders. Who knows, maybe one fine day someone will get the idea of using the threat of bombardment to force the heirs of the USSR, including our own country, to obey them and submit? And what will happen if the threat proves to be ineffective?

The third very important factor has been the substitution before our very eyes of NATO's ruling organs for the UN Security Council, which was clearly manifested not just in the secret agreement (to which Russia was not privy) on giving the alliance unlimited powers to crush the Bosnian Serbs between the UN Secretariat, which did not have the authority to do so, and NATO, but also in the plans to directly replace the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia with NATO forces, which are not under UN command at all. This marks a sharp decline in the United Nations' authority and a blow to its chances of becoming in the near future a genuine mouthpiece for the international community's interests. The question of the viability of Russian diplomacy, which allowed Russia to be deprived in practical terms of the rights due to it as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, is a separate issue. But how do things stand with regard to the moral makeup of its partners, who have taken the opportunity of sidelining their "dear friend"? Surely, from now on a realistic partnership between Russia and NATO, which as a minimum requires that both sides will not play dirty tricks on each other, is impossible.

Next, it is impossible to brush aside the fact that Russia has been humiliated — maybe unintentionally, but this does not detract from it, its general role in international affairs and its specific role in the resolution of Yugoslav problems has been reduced, and its viewpoint and interests are openly ignored. Of course, Russian diplomacy is in part to blame here for deciding that, in the face of all existing experience, they would be able to consolidate Russia's influence in the world by coupling their car to the American train. However, in the post-confrontation world discussion about the direction of travel is not conducted with the car attendant but with the engineer. But when the car attendant suddenly decides to have a say in the choice of routes, his car is simply uncoupled. It is being proposed that the Russian contingent in Bosnia should be put under NATO command.

Finally, the Bosnian crisis has shown the not insignificant influence of public opinion in Russia on its foreign policy. No one expected such a surge of emotion in a country crushed by internal troubles and a foolish economic policy over a matter that does not directly concern its material interests. The very wide support for the Serbs, which in its emotional intensity can only be compared to the wave of sympathy for Republican Spain in the 1930's, has showed that public opinion is alive in Russia and that it is a force to be reckoned with. This factor, which has almost not taken into consideration

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at all by political strategists both here and abroad, will clearly play an increasingly important role in the future.

Meantime, Russia remains a significant player in the European and global balance of power and needs to be taken seriously despite everything that happened in 1991 and has happened since then. Without it there will be neither European nor global security.

**CFE Flank Restrictions Move 'Propaganda Gesture'**

*MM0410100295 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 7*

[Article by Nikolay Nikolayev: "Russian, Squeezed on the Flanks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] November 1995 — the deadline for the fulfillment of the terms of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) — is approaching. In this connection the problem of so-called flank restrictions on core armaments stipulated by this document is becoming more acute for Russia. It has long been obvious that Russia will not be able to implement the provisions of the CFE Treaty for the limitation of flank armaments without serious detriment to its national security, particularly in the North Caucasus.

It should be recalled in this instance that the CFE Treaty was prepared and signed in 1990, when there were still two military-political groups of states in Europe. The main provisions of the treaty, aimed at establishing and maintaining military balance in Europe, including special flank restrictions, were formulated taking precisely this fundamental fact into account. At the time NATO representatives, pressing Russia to ratify the treaty, let it be understood that all the questions worrying our country from the viewpoint of safeguarding its security would be discussed and resolved in the requisite manner.

The actual reality proved completely different. At many international forums since 1993, including the Joint Consultative Group (a special body created in accordance with the CFE Treaty), Russia has constantly raised the question of revising the flank restrictions, proposing several options for solving the problem, including, for example, the redesignation of the North Caucasus Military District from a flank to an interior district.

A force majeur situation for Russia exerting a destabilizing influence on the situation in our country as a whole has indeed developed in the North Caucasus. The participation of certain foreign forces in events in Chechnya can also be detected. In such conditions it is perfectly clear that the CFE Treaty in its present form cannot work in terms of the North Caucasus, for example. This important international document, which initially presupposed the creation and preservation of a military balance of forces in a situation of peace and stability throughout the territory of Europe, contains no instruments which can be used in the event of armed conflicts or the emergence of crisis situations in the area covered by the treaty.

For more than two years representatives of the NATO states have effectively shied away from seeking an acceptable solution to the question of flank restrictions and have continued to insist that Russia must fulfill the terms of the treaty in full. But this approach is incorrect for at least two reasons.

First, international law incorporates the principle "rebus sic stantibus" — "circumstances remaining unchanged" — which means that treaties retain their validity only if the conditions existing when they were concluded have not changed. Who would be brave enough today to claim that the situation in Europe has not undergone radical changes since 1990?

Second, the actual text of the treaty contains a provision allowing a state party to it to withdraw in the event of the emergence of circumstances detrimental to its security.

Nevertheless Russia, seeking to preserve a treaty which is important for European security, has displayed restraint and patience all this time and continued to seek the speediest solution to the flank restrictions problem. Our negotiating partners were given figures for Russian arms requirements for the defense of both of our flanks (1,950 tanks, 4,500 armored personnel carriers, and 2,700 artillery systems, while retaining the overall quota of arms for the European part of Russia under the CFE Treaty). Thus there has been no lack of openness or constructiveness on the Russian side.

Recently the NATO states at last gave their long-awaited response. It is being presented as a significant compromise accommodating Russia's wishes. But even a cursory analysis of the NATO proposals shows that that they are a long way away from a real solution of the flanks problem for Russia. All that is being proposed is that Pskov, Novgorod and Vologda, and also Astrakhan and Volgograd Oblasts be taken out of the flank restrictions.

NATO specialists know very well that these are not the oblasts where the bulk of Russian conventional arms in the flank areas are sited. Therefore the purely "geographical" redrawing of our flank military districts which is being proposed offers virtually nothing in terms of taking account of Russia's concerns and,

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consequently, for an effective solution to the existing flank problem.

Any sensible person can deduce that the current NATO initiative is nothing more than a propaganda gesture designed solely to show intent to take a step toward accommodating Russia. But in practice Russia's conventional arms requirements to strengthen the security of our threatened southern borders, particularly in the Caucasus, were disregarded.

Russia is now entitled to expected that its CFE Treaty partners will shift in the very near future from "ostentatious steps" to real proposals on the essence of the matter. The issue is becoming extremely urgent, for one thing because of the factor of the development of the internal political situation in Russia, particularly the upcoming parliamentary and then presidential elections.

Political leaders in the United States and other NATO states should be clear that many recent actions by the NATO alliance, be it in the Balkans or in connection with the plans to enlarge the bloc, do not — to put it mildly — promote trust in the North Atlantic alliance on the part of the Russian public. If the question of Russia's relations with NATO becomes an element in the pre-election political struggle — and this is highly probable — it is perfectly clear that this will only worsen the position of certain pro-Western Russian politicians, who are promised a difficult face-to-face encounter with Russian voters.

**Foreign Ministry Official on Ties with DPRK, ROK**

*LD0510121795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1153 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By Andrey Kirillov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, October 5 (ITAR-TASS) — A senior Russian Foreign ministry official did not rule out arms trade with North Korea, but said he knew nothing about plans to launch the production of MiG-29 fighters there.

North Korea "is an equal member of international community and has the right to purchase weapons and the necessary defence means wherever it believes it necessary", Valentin Moiseyev, head of the Korean office of the Asian department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told Tass commenting on South Korean reports about possible MiG-29 production in North Korea.

"Arms trade is a delicate issue. Each concrete request from Pyongyang, if it comes, will be considered separately", Moiseyev said stressing that the Russian response will depend on "concrete circumstances", including the solvency of North Korea.

"In recent years we have not been cooperating with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the military-technical sphere at all", he added.

The YONHAP news agency, referring to "a high-ranking military leader", circulated on Wednesday a report about a trip of Russian military experts to North Korea to probe the joint production of MiG fighters. But Moiseyev said he was unaware of the trip.

The agency also said that, in the opinion of analysts, the trip indicated Moscow's desire to display a policy of "equidistance" in relations with the two Koreas.

The latest Moscow's actions worked to promote relations with Seoul. North Korea has been recently informed that Moscow was cancelling the 1961 treaty which envisaged Russian military help in case of aggression against Pyongyang, while Prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has just returned from Seoul where he called to boost bilateral cooperation with South Korea.

But Moiseyev objected to the "equidistance" term.

"Russia strives to stand with both feet on the Korean peninsula" and "we do not want to build relations with one Korean state at the expense of the other", he said.

The policy of Moscow "proceeds, primarily, from Russia's interests", Moiseyev said.

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## Political Issues

### Chernomyrdin Trying To Reassert Control Over Cabinet

*MK0410120295 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 29 Sep 95 p 2*

[Report by Vladislav Borodulin: "The Government Continues To Build the Kurils Socialist Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the government approved the implementation of the federal program for the development of the Kuril Islands. Consideration of this question by the cabinet of ministers would not deserve a special article in KOMMERSANT-DAILY, but yesterday's session served as a shining example of the substantial changes that have occurred in the lineup of forces within the government.

The changes within the government that occurred in the past month add up to this: Viktor Chernomyrdin now puts less trust in his first deputy, Oleg Soskovets. This statement may appear rather contentious, especially considering that nothing has changed on the surface. Oleg Soskovets, as always during the premier's absence, presided over the government session. Moreover, it has been common practice for the premier, when in Moscow, to limit himself to an opening statement and then leave the hall.

Everything changed essentially a month ago: The premier ceased to ignore the weekly government sessions and patiently listened to the discussion of even trifling matters. Last week's government session was even specially moved from Thursday to Friday — to give the premier time to return from a routine business trip. It is also possible, however, that there is no particular disagreement between the boss and his first deputy, and Viktor Chernomyrdin's regular appearance at the head of the huge oval table is only due to the premier's aspiration to stress that he is still the sole head of the Russian Government, not one of thousands of political figures in today's Russia. Be that as it may, Soskovets's chairmanship yesterday was obviously an exception to the recently established rule: The premier was in no position either to cancel or cut short his official visit to South Korea in order to make it to the weekly cabinet session. True, the question "meted out" to Soskovets (certainly not by accident) was not really a watershed: implementation of the federal program for the development of the Kuril Islands. The first deputy premier, however, managed to take advantage of the brief moment of freedom and adjusted the agenda. At the last moment it was enlarged to include questions on the preparation of the economy for winter and a federal program for the development of the timber industry.

You can only guess how the discussion of these matters would have proceeded had the premier chaired it, but it is very likely that the outcome — and it manifests itself not only in the purely formal formulas "Approve" or "Disapprove," but also in nuances in the wording of the resolution — would have been somewhat different. Of course, nothing can be done about the Kurils development program, initiated by the president himself. Whether you like it or not, its implementation had to be approved anyway despite its openly socialist spirit: Under the multibillion ruble rain that is to come pouring down on the 22,000 Kuril residents, new houses and jobs will emerge. The next logical step would be to pay Kuril residents just for showing up at the state-built fish factories.

As for the "extra" questions, things could have been somewhat different here. The premier would have surely agreed with the idea to transfer fueling services at Russian airports to the control of oil companies, but he would have been less enthusiastic about the idea of concluding a tariff agreement between the oil, railroad, power, and metallurgy sectors. It basically provides that enterprises in these sectors impose a price ceiling on their products for the next six months and undertake to stay within it in mutual deliveries. Such an agreement was also concluded in 1994 and, predictably, was ineffective and unfair, because the relative well-being of some inevitably had to be paid for by others — the consumers of materials produced by these basic sectors. Yesterday, however, Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin, without the premier's support, found himself in the minority. His proposal not to reinvent the wheel but to stick to the decisions already made — on limiting the growth of prices for products by natural monopolies to 70 percent of the inflation level — was effectively ignored. True, Yasin was appointed head of a conciliation committee on this matter, but the decision was made and it will now be on record that the government has approved this rather contentious idea.

It can also be supposed that the premier would have been much less enthusiastic about the federal program for the development of the timber industry, proposed by the state company "Roslesprom." It is not only that the program, calculated for 10 years, defies imagination by its cost: nearly 80 trillion rubles (with more than 15 trillion to be paid from budgets at all levels). Money from the budget will be allocated irregularly just the same and not in accordance with the program; but the mere fact that the government has approved this document gives "Roslesprom" a moral right endlessly to seek assistance from the budget. There are already more than enough of such "official" petitioners out there.

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**IZVESTIYA Further Views Chernomyrdin Resignation Rumors**

*MM0410162695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 95 p 2*

[Reports by Valeriy Vyzhutovich and Irina Savvateyeva under the general heading: "Rumors of Chernomyrdin's Resignation Have Worked in Skokov's Favor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin spent nearly half of his first working day since Sochi in close communication — one on one — with Viktor Chernomyrdin. According to the official report the meeting would seem to have been limited to a discussion of current issues. But there are grounds for supposing that the talk also touched on the delicate and painful topic that is the rumors of the premier's possible resignation.

Is Boris Yeltsin familiar with the stories published while he was away on leave concerning the expected replacement of the cabinet chief? To this question the presidential press service gave a clear reply in the affirmative. The nature of the Kremlin incumbent's reaction to this talk can be judged by assessments given by presidential press secretary Sergey Medvedyev in a talk with your IZVESTIYA observer:

"There are political forces interested in presenting matters as though the president and the premier were pursuing different aims and playing in different teams. This is not the first time. As soon as the president goes off somewhere such rumors and stories immediately arise. In this case it is perfectly obvious that it is not to the president's advantage to enter into conflict with the head of the cabinet because this step on the eve of the elections could aggravate and destabilize the situation in the country. But that is obviously what some people are seeking. The election struggle is under way and people eager for power are prepared to use any means in this struggle."

Georgiy Satarov, the president's aide, assessed the talk of the allegedly planned immolation of the premier in much the same way.

The press secretary and the aide did not specify who exactly with the maximum chances for his own success was interested in a rift between Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin. But the suggestion made during the talk that Yuriy Skokov was not the last such person was not rejected by them.

It is not known from which corridors — in the Kremlin or the government — the story, backed up by various arguments, that Chernomyrdin would soon be replaced by Skokov was started. But once it had spread it worked quite well in favor of the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO], whose election positions, already very solid, were strengthened still further.

Skokov emerged from the shadows. To be more precise he was brought out, transformed over the course of two weeks from an opposition member into a real contender for the post of head of government.

Until then the most popular figure in the KRO had been General Lebed, driven into politics as if into a corner. But now Yuriy Skokov through the skillfully concocted rumor of his dizzying prospects has been brought out for nationwide inspection. He himself is still calculatedly avoiding noisy statements, is shunning meetings, and not giving interviews. His ostentatious refusal, with a hint of scandal, to allocate two minutes to NTV's Washington correspondent and his categorical refusal to report anything about the aim of his brief visit to the United States which gave rise to sensational speculation — all this and other similar instances add to Skokov's significance and enlarge the figure of the KRO leader to dimensions which he scarcely has in reality.

From the official Kremlin response to the talk of Chernomyrdin's possible resignation we may conclude that the strategic designs of the KRO do not accord with the plans of Yeltsin and his team. But it must be understood that Sergey Filatov, Georgiy Satarov, Yuriy Baturin, Aleksandr Livshits, and Sergey Medvedyev represent only the liberal and not the most influential part of the president's entourage. While the omnipotent Aleksandr Korzhakov and Mikhail Barsukov, alarmed at the premier's marked increase in strength, on the basis of the same rumors are prepared to make public the compromising material collected about him: A series of expose articles is almost in print....

But if the chief of the president's security service and the chief of the Federal Security Service really want something then it is not Viktor Chernomyrdin's removal but the maximum extension of Boris Yeltsin's powers. Their aim is the latter. So far the resignation of the present premier cannot serve as a means to achieve that aim. A Chernomyrdin who was dismissed now, in the ascendant, with the halo of someone who is being persecuted will in six months' time be Yeltsin's most serious rival in the struggle for the post of president. So the premier's fate cannot be resolved without fear of blundering before "Russia Is Our Home" has won or lost the elections to the Duma. In the former case Yeltsin will use the fruit of the government's success and will keep Chernomyrdin in his post on condition the latter does not take part in the presidential campaign. If the outcome is different then the career of the head of cabinet will end of its own accord.

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Thus all those whose further stay in the Kremlin or near it depends on the political longevity of Boris Yeltsin cannot allow themselves to dismiss Chernomyrdin for at least two and one half months.

And what is the actual source of the rumor that the premier's resignation is imminent? That the president, while on vacation, twice refused to see Chernomyrdin? But IZVESTIYA has been told by Igor Ignatyev, leader of the presidential press service, that business meetings with Chernomyrdin did not figure on Yeltsin's working schedule in Sochi. The same was stated by Viktor Konnov, the head of government's press secretary. The two press services explained that the reason for the speculation and stories was the incorrect report broadcast on ITAR-TASS channels about the meeting between the president and the premier expected at the Sochi residence.

Or was the meeting expected, but only on one side? If that is the case then the smoke which has shrouded the not yet vacant premier's seat is not without a fire, which is making Chernomyrdin cold and Skokov warm, even very warm. [Vyzhutovich ends]

The premier's press secretary, Viktor Konnov, also told IZVESTIYA what he thinks on this score.

Mr. Konnov categorically stated that Chernomyrdin does not intend to take any leave to "tend to the elections." "Viktor Stepanovich believes that today there are too many questions in the government," the press secretary noted. According to Viktor Konnov 100 percent of the working time of the head of the cabinet of ministers and 90 percent of the time which Viktor Chernomyrdin assigns to work after the working day has formally ended and on days off are devoted to his concerns as premier.

As for the premier's relations with the president, here Viktor Konnov noted that he personally has not noticed any falling out and the press secretary himself learned only from the press about the latest meetings between the head of state and the government leader "which had allegedly not taken place."

"The premier smirked in response to all my questions on the subject," Konnov said.

Regarding the rumors which have been spreading recently around the figure of Yuriy Skokov Mr. Konnov noted:

"It is a skillful ploy."

The premier's press secretary believes that it is very much to the advantage of Yuriy Skokov today to keep quiet while a kind of halo is created around him. "The same method is being used which was used in the past during Mr. Mavrodi's election campaign," Viktor Konnov stated. And he figuratively described this ploy as "the Cheshire Cat's grin."

**Kozyrev Uncertain of Future After Dec Elections**

*MK0510064995 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 3 Oct p 2*

[Report by Vladimir Abarinov: "Andrey Kozyrev Has Not Made Up His Mind Yet What Chair He Will Sacrifice. The Russian-U.S. Summit Will Dot the 'i's' and Cross the 't's' in the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Andrey Kozyrev is not ready yet to give an answer to the difficult question of whether he will retain his post as Russian foreign minister after the State Duma elections. The minister imparted his doubts on this matter to journalists on Saturday [30 September] upon his arrival in Moscow from New York. The law says that no later than three days after being elected, he will have to cast off some of his responsibilities. In reply to your SEGODNYA correspondent's suggestion that within those three days an attempt could be made to amend the law, the minister said that this would be fine, but he was in principle against any amendments that could contribute to legislative chaos. The problem is that Andrey Kozyrev — unlike, say, Viktor Chernomyrdin — will run in the election not on party slates but in a single-seat constituency. Therefore, he will not be able to give up his place to the next person on the list. The minister implied that he would probably make his final decision within the next few days, during his trip to Murmansk. According to a public opinion survey published in VECHERNYY MURMANSK in early February, Andrey Kozyrev enjoyed the highest rating in the oblast, followed by Yevgeniy Komarov, head of the [oblast] administration, and Igor Chernyshenko, chairman of the oblast trade union board. [passage omitted]

The minister thinks that it is premature to talk about a mechanism for placing under joint command a new peacekeeping corps, to be brought to Bosnia after a cease-fire agreement is signed. He emphasized that Russia is against "NATO only" or "under NATO only" options. In his opinion, there is still time and a political will to find "a more elegant option" that would be suitable for both Russia and the West. Mr. Kozyrev said that Moscow has some doubts as to the figure of 50,000-60,000 people, who were said necessary to reach a peace agreement. If the conflicting parties agree on the presence of the new contingent, the military operation will turn into a classic peacekeeping one, and there will be no need for such considerable forces to participate.

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**Rutskoy Derides United Nations as U.S. 'Puppet'**

*BR0410152495 Madrid EL MUNDO in Spanish 4 Oct 95 p 26*

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian Great Power movement leader, by Francisco Herranz in Moscow; date not given: "Yeltsin Is a Drunk Who Puts Russia to Shame" — first paragraph is EL MUNDO introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow — Wearing the five-point star which gives him the title of "Hero of the Soviet Union" and in strict mourning in memory of the dozens killed in parliament's armed rising, whose second anniversary is today, Aleksandr Rutskoy looks impressive. A fervent and an inveterate smoker, the former Russian vice president has experienced something of a political and personal ordeal. From being the state's "number two" he became an internationally famous prisoner in the high security prison in Lefortovo, a quiet working class district of Moscow. Now he is the leader of a patriotic movement which is called "Derzhava" (Great Power) and is running in the 17 December parliamentary elections.

[Herranz] Do you not believe that your appeal to the people to take Ostankino — the state television building — 4 October 1993 was a mistake?

[Rutskoy] To err is human. I must admit that that appeal to the people was an extreme situation. I was the acting president, lawfully elected by the supreme judicial body (the Constitutional Court) and the supreme legislative body (the Congress of People's Deputies), and peaceful and unarmed people were being killed before my very eyes.

It was necessary to stop that and catch the killers! There was no way other than to address the people and tell them what was really happening.

[Herranz] Do you feel betrayed?

[Rutskoy] There were many traitors. I tried to contact General Aleksandr Lebed, and he told my aide: "Rutskoy asked for it; let Rutskoy take the consequences!" although he had earlier promised to help us. The same thing happened with General Boris Gromov. Another traitor was Gennadiy Zyuganov (leader of the Russian Communist Party), who appeared on television 2 October, saying that the general strike organized by the "rebels" must not be staged. He called us "rebels." He later stated that he had to say all that in order to save the party. We were left alone and deserted.

If the "White House" had been surrounded by a regiment of tanks, nobody would have begun the shooting, because that would have been disastrous. In the meantime, Yeltsin had prepared his helicopter in order to leave with all his gang. If a single regiment had joined us, Yeltsin would not longer be in power, and would have sought political asylum in another country.

I asked the Ostankino management to allow four deputies to appear live before the cameras in order to relate what had happened, but they shot at us point blank, in the back of the neck. They fired from several points at defenseless people. How are they to be described? As bandits!

Everybody knows what happened — Clinton, Kohl, Mitterrand, Major, the parliaments of the whole world, the United Nations. The United Nations is a puppet in the hands of the United States. An end must be put to that organization.

It is not the United Nations Organization but the United Criminals of the World Organization, because it authorized that shooting. Normal people would not have allowed it. Everybody knows it but stays silent, and on top of that receives that alcoholic and drunk who has not only put great Russia to shame but also raised his hand against his own people.

I am no prophet, but God will judge and punish those who applauded him, shook his hand, and made agreements with him for him to destroy Russia and its great people.

[Herranz] Some 20 million Russians died during World War II, fighting against the swastika of fascism. Do you not find it shameful that the swastika appeared in the "White House" at that time?

[Rutskoy] Aleksandr Barkashov (leader of a well-known Russian fascist movement) appeared on the fourth day, when we were already surrounded by barbed wire. His people said that Rutskoy would last as acting president for three or four days at most. With what aim did all those people arrive at the "White House?" In order to kill me and take power. My conscience is clear, because it is impossible to connect me with fascism.

[Herranz] What complaints do you have about Gen. Lebed?

[Rutskoy] If you give your word, you must keep it. I did not force him to give me assistance. He offered me it, but he did not keep his promise. In fact, he does not know how to string five words together, and he is always roaring and promising. And then there is Yuriy Shokov (Lebed's ally), traveling to the United States in order to report how the work here is proceeding.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy (liberal), Gennadiy Zyuganov (Communist), and all those who dream of attaining

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power with U.S. protection have also done so. If the deceived people vote for them again, the most terrible thing will happen in two or three years' time. Mere puppets will attain power.

[Herranz] What steps could Yeltsin take in order to avert electoral defeat?

[Rutskoy] Organize, with the help of Belarus President Aleksandr Lukashenko, the setting up of a new federal state on the lines of the Soviet Union. If this idea works, the two politicians will be able to extend their terms indefinitely, while in the meantime preparing the way for comfortable elections.

Yeltsin has found the puppets Lebed and Shokov in order to prevent the patriotic forces from being able to combine efforts. He supports Zyuganov's Communists in order to promote that set-up of puppets who are bought and sold called the Russian Communist Party.

[Herranz] What do you have to say about Yakubovskiy; the mysterious person who gathered compromising material against you and is now in prison?

[Rutskoy] He said more than expected, compromising the country's leaders. Yakubovskiy is in prison in order to prevent him from continuing to talk any more about Yeltsin and Valdimir Shumeyko (speaker of the Russian Senate). The government is headed by thieves. I say this openly, and nobody brings an action against me.

I am president of Russia de jure. Nobody revoked the opportune decisions, and they will not do so. Hence all the elections that are held henceforth will be unlawful.

[Herranz] Was there any plot to kill Viktor Barannikov, one of the defenders of the "White House?"

[Rutskoy] There are serious doubts as to whether he died of a thrombosis, because physically he was a strong and healthy man. Barannikov knew too much; he had been interior minister and KGB (Soviet espionage service) chief. If he had been as active as myself, they would have been afraid to eliminate him. They had to take me to Lefortovo prison in an ambulance in a preinfarct condition. It was no coincidence.

I cannot confirm it, but I do not rule out the possibility that Barannikov's demise was facilitated. Eliminating Rutskoy is more complicated, because he is known worldwide. In any event, I am not afraid. I am harassed and my telephone is tapped. I am not free.

[Herranz] Will you take part in the presidential election?

[Rutskoy] In the first place, the parliamentary elections must be won, because it is absurd to go into the presidential election without allies in parliament.

**Remedies Sought for 'Haphazardness' of Legal Reform**

*MM0510080695 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Dmitriy Orlov: "Departmental Interests Hinder Development of Legislation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A scientific and practical conference on the elaboration of a concept of legal reform in Russia began work yesterday near Moscow.

The following people are taking part in its work: Sergey Krasavchenko, first deputy leader of the President's Staff; presidential aides Mikhail Krasnov and Georgiy Satarov; Ruslan Orekhov, chief of the President's Staff State Legal Administration; Mikhail Mityukov, State Duma first deputy chairman; and representatives of the government, the judicial system, and scientific institutions.

As Sergey Krasavchenko said when addressing the conference, Russia is entering a new phase of constitutional reform. The 6 July edict of the Russian president on the elaboration of a legal reform concept is designed to lend the legislative process a systematic, planned, and coordinated nature. A situation in which the head of state has had to apply the right of veto over 100 times, in the majority of cases because of inconsistency between adopted constitutional laws and also their internal contradictions, is intolerable.

Mikhail Mityukov stressed the haphazardness of the legal reform being conducted in the country. From what he said, the intensive lobbying of sector, departmental, and group interests is hindering the development of legislation. Mityukov considers it necessary to form a special organ for the preliminary examination of draft laws — a State Council (by analogy with France). Mityukov's point of view was supported by Vladimir Isakov, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Legislation: He believes that during the entire period of its activity the Duma has mainly been geared to adopting minor and insignificant laws.

It is expected that recommendations on the systemization and codification of Russian legislation, and also on the creation of a coordinated plan for draft law work, will be elaborated during the conference. Leaders of the legal system Vladimir Tumanov, Vyacheslav Lebedev, and Valentin Kovalev will take part in the work of the conference.

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**1993 Attack on Parliament Declared 'Pyrrhic' Victory**

*MM0510090495 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Commentary by Viktor Trushkov under the general heading "The Regime Burned Its Future Along With the House of Soviets:" "The Degrees of Russia's Misfortune"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There have only been two cases in history in which a ruling regime has burned its own state parliament. In 1933 this fate overtook the German Reichstag; 60 years later it befell the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. But while the Hitlerites committed their arson secretly, the Yeltsinites committed theirs ostentatiously; whereas the fascists tried to attribute the crime to their opponents, the regime in the Kremlin today revels in the act of bombarding the House of Soviets and deliberately setting it on fire, passing this off as a triumph for democracy. A world record was broken 4 October 1993.

Why did these homegrown latter-day Herostratuses [Herostratus destroyed one of the Seven Wonders of the World in order to immortalize his name] require this arson, this shame, the blood of thousands of people (the press has already revealed that a report on the deaths of 1,000 people — and that includes only those who were killed — was placed on Yeltsin's desk: In order not to traumatize the top brass, the figure was most probably seriously underestimated), and the curses of millions?

Of course, at the time the Yeltsinites were trying to consolidate the victory of August 1991. The Soviet form of power, geared toward socialism, contradicted the new, bourgeois-criminal essence of the newly established regime. Let us acknowledge that the Soviets at that time had changed their coats just as nimbly as the new executive. They — even in 1993 — were no obstacle to the introduction of capitalism in Russia. For this reason, working people in the capital and the country as a whole watched the drama in the extremely white "White House" from the sidelines. But the Soviets still had a future. Hence the most percipient and resolute citizens decided to defend the symbol of people's power because they believed in the future of this form of government, in its undepleted potential.

The orchestrators of the parliamentary butchery did not realize that they were initiating not a revolution, but the restoration of an obsolete system. Therefore, the more they spread their wings, the more obvious it is that they are approaching their demise. In two years they have not only failed to cement their position, but have actually squandered what they managed to seize in the troubled waters of the post-August period of stagnation.

True, it was only after the burning of the House of Soviets [reference to White House housing Russian parliament in October 1993] that "our" "nouveaux riches" began to shock the West with their reckless drinking bouts and by squandering their countless riches. What was easily snatched is apparently spent unstintingly. But the regime had set a serious task — "to create a class of strategic property owners." It did not work! The socialist machine proved too powerful and well-oiled for all the little Chubayses to able to tear it apart easily. Here is the latest official report of the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics on the country's socioeconomic situation:

"In 1994 (as in 1993 and early 1994) 'minor privatization' enterprises — trade, public catering, and consumer services enterprises — continued to predominate in the sectoral structure of enterprises which have changed their form of ownership;. These account for more than half (52 percent) of all privatized enterprises. The combined share of industrial enterprises stands at 21 percent..." That is the first point.

Second, the architects of piratization [piratization — pun on privatization and "prikhvatizatsiya" — seizing] do not aspire to "strategic property owners" in principle. Anything that they have not put in their own pockets does not work. Already no one wants to buy shares issued by the "new owners:" Around one-half of them remain unsold today. And this is not only the failure of the attack on the Chubays front of redistributing property. The regime's social base is shrinking, property polarization is intensifying, and the pressure in the cauldron of social tension is increasing.

In general the fruits of October 1993 on the economic front are rotten and bitter not only for Russia and its working people, but also for the regime itself.

Perhaps this arson strengthened the political power of the arsonists? No! And it is not simply a matter of the interfactional disposition in the Duma, which is awkward for the Kremlin, nor the dubious results of the referendum on "Yeltsin's" Constitution. The most terrible thing for the rulers has occurred. Their regime has completely peeled away from the people's life — to speak about its alienation is actually embarrassing. There is no respect for it: See how the people instantly rebaptized the "party of government" the hated "party of bosses."

After the bombardment of the House of Soviets the working people began to treat the authorities with disdain, which has helped them to overcome even

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fear. And the rulers sense this. In order to obtain the support of the masses the regime's proteges array themselves in the carnival dress of oppositionists. Just think of it — Gaydar, Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, Fedorov, and Pamfilov are strutting about in the masques of opponents of current policy and the current government! This Moscow farce also derives from the post-October period. Or recall the Sverdlovsk Oblast gubernatorial elections: E. Rossel, who welcomed the bombardment of the Russian House of Soviets, for the sake of victory mastered the vocabulary of the critics not only of Chernomyrdin's "Russia Is Our Home," but of the regime as well.

There are no prospects of sanitizing this regime. Knowing this, it can, of course, plunge into dissipation and perhaps even add to its feats yet another coup d'etat. But the greater the pressure the regime of 4 October exerts on the people, the sooner the spring of resistance will uncoil.

Has this two-year period left a favorable mark on society's spiritual life? There cannot be two opinions on this question. "No epic tales will be told about them, no songs of them will be sung." Any patriot of the Fatherland (and the Communists first and foremost) is extremely concerned as to whether the people have sufficient immunity against the spiritual perversion being implanted. What if a devastating epidemic of moral AIDS is unleashed? But it will mow down not only the people's spirituality, but also the savage state system of the arsonists and thugs of October 1993.

Today they are trembling. In their fear lie the sources of their criminal infighting, their vigorous drinking bouts and majestic boozing sessions. Their victory two years ago was Pyrrhic, but today Doctor History is already consigning this regime to a hospice. After the tragedy of 3-4 October the regime's doom was already inevitable in principle, and real opposition to it can only be implacable opposition.

## Media Issues

### PRAVDA Mocks TV Channel's Claim to Independence

*MM0510101295 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 2*

[Article by Yegor Ivanov: "Chubays in the Role of Figaro"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a recent press conference Mr. Blagovolin, who commands the First TV Channel, complained that because of, in his opinion, the frequent appearance of General Lebed on Public Television First Channel Network [ORT], the channel could be called "Swan Lake" ["Lebed" is Russian for "swan"].

There is something not very satisfactory about Mr. Blagovolin's musical associations. If he had to cite some analogy, ORT could rather be called an endless "Barber of Seville," in view of the hairdressing connotations of First Vice Premier A. Chubays' surname ["chub" means "forelock"]. Indeed, there is no other man in the country who, as in the aria "Figaro here, Figaro there," appears so many times daily on every news program and many other programs on the First Channel besides.

Whence this sudden passionate love between a semi-commercial television firm that declares itself free and a high-ranking state functionary?

Answers to these very simple questions are given by the following document:

Minutes of the Meeting Held by Russian Federation First Deputy Government Chairman A.B. Chubays Moscow, 13 September 1995, No. ACH-P 16-94

Those present: V.N. Ignatenko, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation government; B.A. Berezovskiy, S.Ye. Blagovolin, A.V. Yevstafyev, M.A. Panin, and B.Sh. Patarkatsishvili from ORT; S.G. Belyayev from the Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property; and V.N. Likhachev, chief of a section of the Russian Federation Government Apparatus Culture Department.

1. On Funding ORT in 1995 (Yevstafyev, Berezovskiy, Ignatenko, Belyayev, Patarkatskishvili, Chubays)

i. The report on the existing financial situation in ORT is accepted for examination.

ii. The Russian Ministry of Finance (A.P. Vavilov), the Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting (V.V. Lazutkin), and ORT (S.Ye. Blagovolin) are hereby instructed to jointly elaborate the possible options for funding ORT until the end of 1995; these are partial funding from unpaid budget funds earmarked for the Russian Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and also the possibility of implementing the aforementioned funding from India's debt.

iii. ORT (B.A. Berezovskiy, S.Ye. Blagovolin) is hereby instructed to analyze the question of additional funding from nonstate shareholders.

2. On the Economic Agenda on ORT's First Channel (Blagovolin, Berezovskiy, Yevstafyev, Ignatenko, Belyayev, Chubays)

i. It is hereby deemed inexpedient to reduce news broadcasts on ORT's First Channel.

ii. ORT (S.E. Blagovolin, B.A. Berezovskiy) is hereby instructed to prepare proposals to create a system of economic news and programs.

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[Signed] A. Chubays, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government [protocol ends]

Now three things are clarified, at least documentarily. First, those who once said that the creation of ORT was a large-scale election ruse, laying an additional financial burden on the state's shoulders, were right. The financial crisis into which ORT has fallen can be relieved somewhat only if money earmarked for other state television and radio companies is removed and transferred to ORT.'

Second, there are no returns from commercial, that is to say, so-called "nonstate" structures, and none is envisaged. And although they own 49 percent of the shares in the ORT Joint-Stock Company, they do not intend to fork out any money for the upkeep of that company.

Third, there can be no question of any freedom or independence for the First Television Channel. Suffice to read Mr. Chubays' formulas of the type "hereby deemed inexpedient," "ORT is instructed," and so forth, to see who is master in their house. And still more so on their TV channel.

The most touching thing in this document is the mention of "India's debt." Now, it would appear, even Indian rupees will work in favor of Mr. Chubays' popularity. If things go on like this, soon even the tiny state of Bhutan, which also apprently owes Russia money, will be funding the first vice premier's propaganda campaign. All that will remain for TV viewers to do will be to croon the famous aria in a new version: "A. Chubays is here, A. Chubays is there...."

## Military & Nuclear Issues

### Kolesnikov on 'Fundamental' Issues of Military Development

*MM0310133195 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 95 pp 1, 3*

[Article by Army General Mikhail Kolesnikov, Russian first deputy defense minister and chief of general staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces: "Military Organizational Development as an Inalienable part of the Establishment of Russian Statehood"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today we are witnessing complex, sometimes contradictory phenomena connected with the establishment and development of the Russian state as a whole and an inalienable part of it — military organizational development. This latter is generating particularly close public attention. And on no other issue is there such an abundance of opinions and proposals as there is on the transformations taking place in the field of military organizatinal development.

Despite the difficulties, the establishment of the Russian state is continuing and the customary and familiar identity of our country and of the Armed Forces with it is changing literally before our eyes. Naturally this is giving rise in society and in the army to problems which require not only responsible decisions but also new approaches toward their fulfillment.

#### On Common Approaches

State building on all salients, including the military salient, is undoubtedly part of the period our country is living through. Stemming from the need to ensure military security as an element of national security as a whole, military organizational development pervades all aspects of the life of any state without exception, especially at the stage of establishment.

The stage of the establishment of our state and its political system and the restructuring of the economy and of people's actual consciousness and the processes connected with this, instability, drastic changes in public mood, and the agonized search for social priorities are bringing to the fore factors which are "external" with regard to the military sphere and the Armed Forces themselves but which in many ways determine the orientation, pace, and results of the processes taking place in them.

It is primarily the fact that the Russian Armed Forces were created and are being developed not in a vacuum and not in isolation from society which serves as grounds for this conclusion. And unfortunately it is not even a question of the fact that we have in our arsenal the experience, vigor, and knowledge of thousands of highly trained officers. But also in the fact that the effectiveness of their use does not always depend on themselves.

The point of departure, the base in the sphere of ensuring national and consequently military security is the awareness and definition at the highest state level of the place of the state itself in the world, its interests, its ability and wish to influence particular world processes, the possible consequences and "degree of responsibility" for this influence, the principles of mutual relations with neighboring and remote countries, the nature of possible threats to national security, and the elaboration of approaches toward the formation of an appropriate defense potential to ward them off. The assessment of its real potential and the prediction of the dynamics of their change and dependence on the condition of the state itself are also of exceptional importance.

In actual fact who, for instance, can clearly identify the border beyond which no measures are effective except military measures and how far in general in the

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world today with the existence of dozens of international organizations and a system of international law norms and treaties it is possible to rely on force. Or judge how effective its use is and whether it is the "final" means of resolving vexed issues. We are prompted to these thoughts, in particular, by the events in the Balkans. They taught a lesson to those pacifist circles who, on the basis of the radical changes in the world distribution of forces, were ready to assert that the foreign military threat to the Russian state had disappeared.

This common approach also lies at the basis of the adoption of very important state decisions in the military field and determines the content and orientation of the country's policy in the defense sphere.

There then logically follows the documentary "certification" of this orientation expressed in the adoption of state doctrinal instructions, that is military doctrine — the basis of state policy in the field of defense, military organizational development, and the building of the Armed Forces — and it is embodied in presidential edicts, government decrees, and orders from Defense Ministry officials.

On the practical plane this means the identification of the main avenues of activity of the entire state and its institutions and the formation of a system for making decisions, planning their implementation, and directly embodying them in life within the framework of state programs.

Understandably these questions go far beyond the framework of the purely military sphere. In actual fact is it possible today to do without an analysis of the demographic situation and the formation of the relevant public concept of state policy in the defense field? I do not even mention multilevel problems like the formation of the defense industry potential, the laying down of its mobilization potential, the development of the military infrastructure, and so forth.

The seeming simplicity of the scheme thus briefly set out does not, unfortunately, reflect the actual complexity of the problems facing us in the military field. Objectively requiring multilevel research and development, they are assessed in different ways by different strata of society and naturally form a broad spectrum of views of the military field as part of state policy as a whole.

On the basis of what has been said we can assert that one of the most important source of problems of military organizational development lies on the plane of the army, society, and politics. It is these factors which exert the most direct influence on the life and activity of the enormous army organism. I should like to focus special attention on them. And the constant "political maneuvering" around the Armed Forces whose intensity will obviously mount on the threshold of the elections to Russia's supreme organs of legislative power make our talk particularly topical.

**Army, Society, Politics**

Frankly, the addressing of this complex of issues is rather of an enforced nature. As I see it these problems should not exist at all. The very "army-society" formula essentially places the wrong emphasis and contains an artificial element of confrontation because the army is an inalienable part of society itself. And attempts artificially to separate one from the other are unnatural, dictated primarily by the instability of the internal political situation in the country. The drama of the situation is that the army is the only organism in the state which has a colossal arsenal of means of destruction and its moist important function is the effective use of this arsenal in the interests of all society at the decision of its political leadership.

So it will be entirely logical to take a brief look at a subject which is being keenly debated in society — the army and politics. It is made particularly acute and topical by the events in Chechnya. Here it is appropriate to recall the seemingly universally known fact that the Armed Forces are a very important state institution and consequently an instrument for the defense of the state's interests in their specific field. In this connection any arguments about the army outside politics become demagoguery which is all the more dangerous in that it begins to influence the mindset of people, turning the army into the hostage not so much of politics as of mere politics mongering. A seeming paradox arises: On the one hand the army must be outside politics, that is should not be a player in the country's political life, and on the other, how can the Armed Forces be outside the state's politics in the broad meaning of the term if they are the guarantor of the protection of its vital interests?

The answer is obvious: There is no doubt that in this understanding the army is a political force. That is an axiom of political science. In accordance with this axiom the basic provisions of military doctrine do not allow the Armed Forces to be used in the interests of individual groups of people, parties, and public associations. Then, in accordance with the Russian Federation law "on defense," activity of political parties, organizations, and associations in the Armed Forces is ruled out. In that sense and that sense alone the army must be outside politics. I stress once again that the army is a state attribute and an instrument of state policy.

The civil stance of the servicemen themselves is another matter. As full citizens of their country they have

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the right to elect and be elected to any representative bodies and naturally each of them makes his civic and, moreover, moral choice independently.

**On Some Problems and Difficulties of the Practice of Military Organizational Development**

Before building anything you must determine clearly what to build and how to build it and what opportunities we have for doing so. In other words, what kind of an army does our state need and on what should it spend effort and money?

I shall not polemicize in this connection with those of pacifist views nor dwell on the international situation and its changes in recent years. Much has been written and said about this. There are different opinions and views. One thing is clear: Today we cannot, in the interests of Russia's future, calmly observe the development of events in the world, the continuing military preparations, instances of the resolute and unconsidered use of the entire arsenal of military might (as happened, for instance, in the former Yugoslavia with NATO — the "guarantor of European peace and stability").

We military men value highly the politicians' agreements but we must be prepared for any unexpected events. Ultimately we are answerable for Russia's security. And we see no grounds for complacency.

Someone will say: It looks as though the general is trying yet again to intimidate us. But even a brief digression into history, with which I shall not burden the reader, gives a great many examples of drastic changes in the military-political situation which have had fatal consequences.

In this connection and, unfortunately, for many years to come, guarantees of the country's independence and security will be very closely linked with and will rely on its military potential. But the question of what kind of army we need is not that easily answered. To form its parameters it is necessary above all to forecast quite fully both the trends in the development of the foreign policy situation and trends in the further development of our country and on this basis clearly determine the Armed Forces' tasks. Here we must also consider objective elements of uncertainty. For instance, who would now venture to be bold enough to assert he is ready to undertake to predict the detailed future of, for instance, the CIS, if the problem of the Black Sea Fleet has remained unresolved for years? Yet this sphere is far from the most complex in the list of those requiring assessment and precise forecasting. People may object: Yes, uncertainty exists but the principles of foreign policy and its implementation are a matter for anyone you like but not for the military: When necessary they will call for you and tell you what to do.

Unfortunately, this opinion does exist. In my view it proceeds from approaches far removed from professionalism in both the political and military spheres. The point is that the military organization of society which is being created and to an even greater degree the Armed Forces themselves cannot be built and cannot function properly and make preparations using approximate, uncertain yardsticks. We still have a very great many deficiencies in these issues. Hence the numerous "conceptual" approaches toward the identity of the Armed Forces. And the endless searches to determine their numerical strength and the "reformist urge" which periodically perturbs particular representatives of our society.

I do not want to be misunderstood. It is not a case of grievances of a misunderstood professional demanding complete and immediate clarity on the matter of where to direct not only his own knowledge and experience but also the experience and knowledge of his subordinates. It is not a question of justifying omissions which we have already made or will make in the future. The aim is to show to even a small degree the complex of very crucial decisions which must be taken for the organizational development of the Armed Forces taking into account the fact that the Armed Forces, like the entire country, is at the start of a long and difficult path. And the decisions which have been made must in practice be implemented by all state structures because the army itself cannot do this and indeed should not. Today as a whole we can speak only of the state's desire to implement the reform of society's military organization and to build new Armed Forces which accord with its needs.

I believe that these arguments contain an answer to those who venture to assert that in the army there is resistance to any changes (if there is resistance then it is to hasty decisions based on the principle of destroying, not building). Incidentally, these assertions cannot be put down merely to naivete and incompetence. Here you can sometimes see motives of a different kind. Something else is undoubted — the state's leadership. The defense ministry, the commanding generals, commanders, and chiefs of all ranks see the point of their activity in ensuring that the army and navy become powerful and combat-capable and our joint activity has led to this aim.

From these arguments there inevitably arises the question: What is actually being done? Daily experience of activity in service right now is linked to a large degree with the solution of problems a very long way from the ideal of army service. We Defense Ministry leaders know the state of affairs and as far as we are able ev-

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ery possible step is being taken to eliminate what I will frankly call an intolerable situation. But I should like it to be clearly understood that without some completion of the work in the state and military "top echelons" which has been mentioned so extensively army life will be unable to return to normal in full.

Sometimes we are criticized quite sharply for our slowness and the opinion has formed that we are all waiting for something, that there are no transformations in the army. But that is not so. Since the creation of the Russian Armed Forces a large complex of measures has been carried out to improve organizational and staff structures and the system of management under new conditions, to introduce a new method of staffing the Armed Forces (under contract), to elaborate modern weapons and military equipment systems, and to deploy and provide facilities for the troops (forces) in new regions, and to solve a number of other tasks.

Proceeding from the tasks of defense an exceptionally important and large amount of work has been done in the sphere of planning the use of the Armed Forces. Preference has been given to the creation of mobile forces capable in a relatively brief period of ensuring the deployment of the necessary grouping of troops on strategic salients or in "conflict" regions. Now, on the basis of the experience acquired, work is under way for their organizational improvement.

We are seriously concerned by matters with regard to the technical equipping of the troops and naval forces. Our state's defense industry potential is in a critical state. The reasons for this extremely complex situation (the lack of investments, working capital, nonpayments, the collapse of cooperatives, the departure of skilled cadres, and so forth) have been written and talked about a lot. At the same time a number of politicians and journalists have misapprehensions and illusions on the subject. They also penetrate the army milieu. Sometimes it is believed that the enormous groundwork in the military potential of the former USSR still serves as a reliable basis for providing the Russian Federation Armed Forces with a sufficient quantity of weapons and military equipment, including the most recent military organizational models. In reality the matter is far more complicated.

The existing level of prices for military-technical output makes it possible today to make only isolated purchases of weapons and military equipment. And you cannot get far with experimental military organizational models. Any producer will tell you that without stably financed series production not a single enterprise can exist properly. We have been forced to reduce the range of the military organizational models we buy, giving priority to the most effective. Because of the lack of funds we are working more slowly than we would like in the field of standardizing and uniformizing weapons and equipment. So the process of our weapons' obsolescence is acquiring the nature of an avalanche. In this problem standard solutions will no longer help. New approaches and fundamental new decisions at the highest level are needed.

As a whole if we are speaking of the pace and scope of transformations then in fact since the early nineties because of the critical state of the economy and the enforced reduction on military expenditure, in the Armed Forces they have mainly come down to reducing their numerical strength and a number of other secondary measures while there has been no precise and clear state program for carrying out military reform or adapting the army to the new socioeconomic conditions. Not everything is proceeding smoothly. So for the harmonious and smooth management of the military sphere, like all others, it is necessary to specify and enshrine in legislation the functional duties of the organs of state power and at the same time to make corrections to the system of state management of the country for peace time and in war. State institutions designed to elaborate decisions for the organizational development and use of the Armed Forces are also in need of improvement.

The formation of the necessary political and legal culture in our country depends on how precisely, harmoniously, and swiftly constitutional and legislative norms are worked out. We will thus obtain more rapidly a system of democratic regulators on questions of the organizational development and use of the Armed Forces and the ensuring of their requirements.

Questions of safeguarding the country's security on which decisions must be made at state level are constantly arising. And only their prompt solution will ensure the specific and detailed completion of the conceptual instructions for the organizational development of the Armed Forces which have been elaborated and newly checked, the determination of the stages of this process at the planning level, and the identification of immediate, medium-term, and long-term tasks and ways of resolving them.

**The Biggest Problem Is Financing**

That the army has little money is clear to everyone. But how much does it need? Obviously "the more, the better" is not a state approach. It is important to understand that we should not identify expenditure on defense in general with expenditure on the army, which is a component part of this expenditure.

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Expenditure on the army can hypothetically be divided into three main avenues: The first is daily expenditure on the activity and maintenance of the combat readiness of the Armed Forces at the level they have achieved, the second is their development, and the third is their use.

There is no need to show the first avenue. Expenditure on the development of the Armed Forces is connected with their reorganization, the improvement of strategy, military skill, and fighting tactics, the introduction of new methods of armed combat and military organizational modern weapons, the improvement of the socio-consumer backup for the personnel, and so forth.

Let us look at the state of affairs in these two fields for the time being. Money, as we know, likes to be counted. And we do count it. Realizing that things are hard for the state we approach these questions with scrupulous precision, asking only for vitally necessary and precisely justified amounts.

In practice, unfortunately, the state's budget policy in recent years has come down to appropriations having been and continuing to be earmarked at a level which is scarcely adequate for the troops' priority needs. Under these conditions even operational and combat training has had to be restricted to the utmost which undoubtedly has an adverse effect on the state of training of the troops and naval forces. Moreover, often we have to use current sums to finance urgent measures for the development of the Armed Forces. We see a way out in the transfer to program-targeted planning of military organizational development, closing linking guaranteed financial backup for planned military programs with this process.

There is the separate issue of financing the third avenue — the use of troops and forces. Whereas formerly we would incur relatively small expenses during our troop formations' participation in peacekeeping operations, the conflict in Chechnya has required the concentration of our entire financial potential there. But so far we have not managed to get full reimbursement from the federal budget for the expenses we have incurred. In fact these expenses also harm the Armed Forces' current financing.

As a result under the existing conditions it is very hard to speak of ensuring military organizational development measures. It would be more correct to speak of financing the Armed Forces' survival and carry out the measures which simply cannot be put off.

**On Social Protection of Servicemen and Members of Their Families**

The monetary maintenance of servicemen is a question of state importance. I am deeply convinced that it should not only ensure a dignified life for the serviceman himself and his family but also bear the moral load, being the criterion for assessing the social importance of military labor. The present state of affairs does not attest to a high level of assessment here.

The Russian Federation law "on the status of servicemen" adopted in 1993 for the first time enshrined in legislation guarantees of remuneration for military labor. Article 12 of the law indicated that wages for the initial military posts of soldiers and sailors serving under contract could not be less than five times the minimum wage while wages [presumably supplements] for military ranks should be not less than half the military official salaries. Proceeding from the minimum wage of 55,000 rubles [R] set 1 August 1995 the wages of a soldier serving under contract should be R413,500. Instead as of 1 September they were R202,500 or less than half the sum stipulated by law.

Right now the wages of a platoon commander (lieutenant) are R420,000 and those of a company commander (captain) R570,000, which does not even ensure the subsistence minimum for a two-person family. The lack of opportunity to provide their family members with even the minimum necessary living standard, the lack of domestic provisions, and a number of other reasons are leading to the most skilled, enterprising, and promising cadres leaving the Armed Forces. So we now have considerable undermanning in the posts of the junior officers' corps and a large number of military school and academy graduates ask to be released immediately after graduating from the military training establishment.

This is a very dangerous process. Its consequences will not be slow in affecting the immediate future when the continuity of generations, which has always been the basis for preserving and augmenting the experience and traditions of army service, is broken. The only thing which instills optimism is the fact that despite the very grave financial situation the army is continuing to live and to fulfill its duty.

Serious problems also exist now in the field of pensions for servicemen. The advantages which military pensioners used to have in this field have been leveled down in recent years by the adoption of a number of normative acts on pension issues without considering these people's interests.

Thus without creating a proper level of social protection for the army and navy personnel and implementing the rights, guarantees, and compensations guaranteed by the law for servicemen and members of their families it is hard to count on the high-quality performance of the tasks of building the Russian Federation Armed Forces.

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**On Manning the Armed Forces**

No one needs convincing that this is a central problem not only for the army but also for all society. It is directly linked with the political, economic, and social situation in the state. The very grave situation with regard to the staffing of the troops is known not only by hearsay. It has been sufficiently analyzed at all levels. We should merely draw attention to a fundamental aspect of the problem — approaches toward the system for manning our Armed Forces.

History, including our own history, knows many examples of various approaches toward manning the army. Thus, during the civil war alongside the general compulsory military service the army was staffed on a voluntary basis. During the Great Patriotic War the entire country was under arms. This was a truly nationwide exploit. And it largely became possible only thanks to the precisely organized system for people's patriotic education and military instruction in the defense of the Motherland. But does our Fatherland today not need devoted citizens well trained in military specialties who will always be able reliably to defend their home, their relations, and everything associated with the name of Russia?

In contrast to the past, military organizational modern weapons and equipment are very complex, which requires high professional skills from the peel who wield them. Hence the obvious but sometimes ignored conclusion that society must have a reserve of trained defenders who if circumstances demand, abandoning their civilian jobs, would be ready immediately to come to the defense of their Motherland, thus executing their duty in a professional manner. Naturally conditions are different now and people have different views. But a very important task for society and the state — training these reserves — remains immutable.

On this plane there obviously also lies the answer to the question of the system for manning our Russian Armed Forces. The answer must be provided by those people and entire public organizations which are fighting for a purely professional army in the long term.

In our opinion to speak today and in the future of a real professional army can essentially only be done from the position that the mixed principle should be at the basis of its manning. The correlation of the servicemen who volunteer for service and those who are drafted can of course vary, including variations according to categories and branches of troops. There is no doubt that many factors should be considered, including the demographic situation in the country. What arguments persuade us of the expediency of this approach?

An analysis of all the conditions and of the country's real state shows that right now the state is simply incapable of creating a professional army (in the sense of a hired army). Above all because of the lack of an infrastructure making it possible to provide contract servicemen with housing, the appropriate wages, and other socioconsumer conditions. That is why in the next 5-6 years the manning of the army with draftee servicemen is the priority and through the year 2000 they will continue to comprise up to 70 percent of all sergeants and soldiers.

Moreover, there is one more very important aspect on the moral and ethical plane. Will the commercialization of army service not lead to the emergence of an army of mercenaries whose political and moral identity will be determined by money, with all ensuing consequences?

Many other questions also arise to which the state and society must give answers. We realize very well that the country needs not to a lesser degree but perhaps to a greater degree not only professional defenders but also workers, doctors, engineers, scientists, artists, and artistes. When, at what age, can a citizen be drafted for military service: as a young 18-year-old or as the mature man he will become in a few years' time? What should the procedure for alternative service be? These and many other questions require an answer in legislative acts because they affect the interest of every citizen and every family.

The questions examined above do not of course exhaust the entire complex of problems and difficulties on the path of the establishment of our Armed Forces. I touch only on what are today the most topical "fundamental" problems to which I should like to draw the attention of readers, who are undoubtedly sincerely interested in the success of our joint efforts to strengthen our Fatherland's defense potential.

**Military 'Worried' About Upper Chamber's Budget Decision**

*MM0410140395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Petr Karapetyan: "Senators Will Examine More Than Thirty Issues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Federation Council deputies opened their fall session 3 October. The agenda is extremely full. It is to be hoped that deputies will work really hard. It is also to be hoped that this time they will end their pernicious practice of going off home the day before the official closure of the session, in other words on Thursday. But if that remains no more than a hope we military can only regret it. Because according to the

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long-standing tradition "our" questions appear in items 11-20. Unfortunately experience shows that deputies' enthusiasm wanes somewhere around item 20. And item 21 is scheduled to be "additions to the Federal Law 'On Military Obligation and Military Service'."

Of course, we are very worried by the deputies' decision on the draft law on the 1996 federal budget. All the Federation Council committees without exception have serious reservations about the government's proposals. But what we are interested in is this: Will the senators keep their promise made during the discussion of the draft law and lobby for the interests of the Army and the power structures? After all, the increase in defense spending envisaged in the draft budget is considerably below the average rise in expenditure. At a meeting with journalists, as I recall, Deputy Speaker Valeryan Viktorov declared his intention to "stand up for" the Army, while Vladimir Shumeyko himself disagreed with the resources allocated for the Armed Forces' needs and told Viktor Chernomyrdin so in writing. In his letter, incidentally, the speaker claims that the majority in the Federation Council support his position.

**Conscripts To Serve Two Years Before Demobilization**

*LD0410165195 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] All current conscripts are to serve two years. This became known today after a closed session of the Federation Council [FC] turned down amendments to the law on military service. Details from our parliamentary correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov:

[Osipov] Vyacheslav Zherebtsov, head of the mobilization organization department of the Russian Armed Forces said in an interview that only those servicemen who have served two years will be demobilized this fall. Talking to journalists, the general staff spokesman noted that the upper chamber deputies had turned down all amendments to the law on military service, which had been adopted by the State Duma this summer only because they had adopted a more realistic approach to the problem of the combat readiness of units and formations in the Armed Forces. The 18-month period of service will not be extended either on those servicemen who have been or are continuing to take part in combat operations in hot spots — Chechnya, Tajikistan, and Georgia.

As noted in the Federation Council's decision, the legislative norm under consideration may have a negative effect on mutual relations within troop collectives and lead to instability in the carrying out of combat service tasks. If one can judge from the information received from Lieutenant General Vyacheslav Zherebtsov the fall call-up will enable the Russian Armed Forces to be brought up to 75-78 percent strength, instead of 60 percent in the past. The general believes that bringing the Army up to strength is the first condition of its combat readiness. One may agree with the general's conclusions, but how can one explain the fact that even in the Federation Council building every day there are soldiers who, for one reason or another, have changed into dark gray suits and are dragging furniture from one office to another, carrying out other work unconnected with military service?

**Gromov Promises Continued Power Supply for Northern Fleet**

*LD0410202095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MURMANSK, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Russian Navy's commander-in-chief has promised the commander of the Northern Fleet that the power supply for any of the fleet's facilities will not be switched off again.

Admiral Feliks Gromov said there would be nothing similar to the September 20 incident at the Gadjiyevo naval base. The Kolenergo joint stock company then switched off the power supply for the facility. "The naval command will take every step to prevent such situations," Admiral Gromov said in Murmansk, where he arrived to inspect the Northern Fleet.

On Wednesday Admiral Gromov boarded the Northern Fleet's flagship, the Admiral Kuznetsov nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, which later left Murmansk for the Barents Sea to hold test flights for fighter planes.

**Exercises on Controlling Strategic Nuclear Forces Begin**

*LD0410195295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — Command-post exercises on controlling strategic nuclear forces began in Russia Wednesday, the Russian Defense Ministry's Information Department told INTERFAX.

During the manoeuvres under the command of Chief of the Russian armed forces' General Staff Mikhail Kolesnikov, operations to control the strategic troops "in different conditions" will be performed.

The exercises will also help check the technical reliability of missile systems of various types of basing, and their readiness for operation.

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At the final stage on October 10, training launches of strategic nuclear missiles will be carried out.

## Federal Assembly

### Duma Opens Session With Attacks on Government

*LD0410163795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian State Duma lower house of parliament met after vocations today for its last session before the December parliamentary elections. The deputies met in a fighting spirit evidenced by their attacks on the government. Some groups appeared to be ready to call for a confidence vote in the Chernomyrdin Cabinet.

The morning debates centered around priorities in the house's law-making activity, but all the leaders of the parliamentary groups, with the exception of PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] chief Sergey Shakhray, unfailingly aired their discontent with the work of the government.

Agrarian faction leader Mikhail Lapshin, the first to speak in the debates, declared that "the house cannot avoid a critical assessment of the work of the government," and blasted Viktor Chernomyrdin for his proposal to hold a nation-wide referendum on private landownership.

Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov and leader of the Women of Russia movement Yekaterina Lakhova demanded that the government report to the State Duma on its activity the soonest possible.

Leader of the Russia's Choice group in parliament Yegor Gaydar called on the members of parliament to "depart from senseless politicking," and chairman of the parliamentary Democratic party of Russia Stanislav Govorukhin summarized the calls by saying: "I would not call for raising the question of no-confidence in the government even though the reasons for this have doubled (since we last debated the question). Let the people express their confidence or no-confidence in the government at the elections."

Interestingly, LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was uncommonly quiet and reserved today. He declared that 90 percent of the house's working time should be given to law-making. This came as a surprise to many because previously none of the State Duma deputies had distracted the house from its business more than Zhirinovskiy himself.

### Duma Adopts Statement Condemning Helms-Burton Bill

*LD0510100595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0914 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 5 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian State Duma today adopted a statement "On the Helms-Burton" bill, regarding it as a "step which contradicts international law and norms of civilised international relations". It is pertinent to recall that the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress had approved a draft law "On Cuba's Freedom and 1995 Democratic Solidarity", which is now known as the Helms-Burton bill.

The Russian MPs note that "this bill toughens the American embargo against Cuba, envisages sanctions against the states and individuals that have economic relations with the Republic of Cuba, puts forth some "demands to the future Cuban government". Such an approach is incompatible with the universally recognised principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of states and rules of free international trade, the Duma's statement stresses.

The Lower House of the Russian Parliament stresses that "Russia had developed and will go on developing its relations with the Republic of Cuba, including economic ties, proceeding from its own national interests". It is impermissible to dictate to the Russian Federation the policy it should pursue in respect to other countries, the document says. It notes that the threat to use sanctions may only jeopardise the development of normal relations between Russia and the United States.

The statement says that "the fact that many states, including U.S. allies, have disagreed with the Helms-Burton bill proves the futility of the policy to isolate Cuba".

At the same time, the State Duma has expressed the hope that the destructive Helms-Burton bill, which is apt to seriously aggravate the atmosphere of international cooperation, will never become a law in the United States.

### Duma Passes Draft on Financing Nuclear Facilities

*LD0510085695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma passed a draft law on financing particularly high risk radiation and nuclear facilities in the first reading today.

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The law is meant to ensure their reliable and timely financing.

Chairman of the Duma Sub-Committee on Industry, Construction, Transport and Energy Stepan Sulakshin said the Russian president had signed a corresponding decree at the State Duma's request in December 1994. He said the decree was needed for regulating the financing of especially high risk nuclear facilities. Drawbacks in the financing of such facilities were revealed during the parliamentary hearings on the problems concerning "closed towns" of the country's nuclear energy and nuclear weapon complexes.

Sulakshin said the law was primarily aimed at creating a legal basis for economically regulating and stimulating the scientific and industrial activity of particularly high risk facilities rather than just at attracting additional funds.

The draft laws provides for financing relevant expenses fixed in the federal budget "on time and with compulsory advance payment within the limit of 40% of the annual financing."

Furthermore, the enterprises and organizations, which were included in the list of especially high risk facilities, can make payments to form centralized funds of the federal executive power bodies in the following amount: 1.5% for financing the research and development activity, 3% for financing the reorganization of high risk enterprises of the former defense industry and 1% for ensuring social security for the least well-off categories of the population.

About 800 billion rubles are expected to be annually accumulated in these centralized funds.

The State Duma decided to consider the draft law's final version this October.

**Duma Approves Energy-Saving Bill in First Reading**

*LD0510090395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0316 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma on Wednesday overwhelmingly approved an energy supply bill drawn up by the parliamentary committee for industry, transport and energy.

The committee says that industrial output dropped by 37% in 1991-1993 compared with a mere 8.2% increase in fuel and energy consumption. Energy consumption per production unit was up 47% over the period which is more than double on the same indicator in the United States.

If the negative trend persists, energy supply will drop by 400 million [metric] tonnes of comparison fuel or about one third of the country's energy consumption in the next five years.

Introducing the bill, committee vice chairman Yevgeniy Gusarov of the Russian faction said there was no legislation on energy saving in the country.

He said the new law was intended to bring a crucial change to Russia's strategy of energy saving. The bill is to go for the second reading by November 10.

**Duma Rejects Draft Law on Regulation of Lobbying**

*LD0510090195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The State Duma rejected a draft law titled "On the Regulation of Lobby Activities in Federal Bodies of State Power" by 119 votes for, 8 against and 5 abstentions Wednesday. The required minimum to pass a decision is 226 votes.

An explanatory note signed the parliamentary committee chairman for public associations and religious organizations, Viktor Zorkaltsev, stressed that the mechanism for interaction of groups of citizens with the authorities is "underhand, corrupt and chaotic." The draft law would be "the first step in the regulation of lobbying" designed to disclose this process and decrease corruption in the authorities by making lobbying civilized and controllable. The document would enable various groups of citizens and public associations to influence the authorities, he added.

In part, the draft law stipulated that any Russian citizen is entitled to lobby in the federal bodies of power, contracted by both Russian or foreign, commercial or non-profit organizations "defending their individual or collective interests."

The draft law was supposed to extend over both legislative and executive bodies.

The debate focused on registration and accreditation of lobbyists. A corresponding article entitles the Justice Ministry to register lobbyists and supervise their activities. All lobbyists would have to obtain one-year licenses to practice their business.

**Duma Asks Yeltsin To Name CBR Chair Candidate**

*LD0410181995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma on Wednesday voted

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unanimously to ask President Boris Yeltsin to name a candidate for the post of Central Bank [CBR] chairman.

The Duma appeal describes the situation in the country's banking system as very alarming with "hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions of Russians" facing a renewed threat of losing their savings.

It says any delay in the appointment of a CBR chairman can lead to a build up of alarming trends in the economic and political situation.

Yeltsin has twice offered Tatyana Paramonova, who has been acting CBR head since last October, for the post but her candidacy was rejected by deputies on both occasions.

**Central Bank's Draft 1996 Monetary Policy Rejected**

*MK0410121295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 2*

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "The Central Bank Has Bogged Down in Alternatives. Draft Guidelines for Monetary Policy in 1996 Have Failed To Satisfy Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksandr Pochinok, deputy chairman of the [State Duma] Budget Committee, has called the draft guidelines for monetary policy in 1996, submitted by the Central Bank for discussion to the State Duma working group on the 1996 federal budget, a school treatise that can be classified as a synopsis of a master's thesis in economics. A considerable portion of the document is taken up with an analysis of trends in the economy in 1995. The Central Bank staffer who submitted the document to the deputies admitted that unified target figures for the 1996 GDP and inflation rate were unavailable to the Central Bank's experts while they were working on the draft. Therefore, they had to prepare several alternative monetary policy scenarios and promised to submit an alternative-free version by 1 December. Such an approach by the Central Bank's experts angered Budget Committee Chairman Mikhail Zadornov, who said that the Central Bank had failed to fulfill its functions, since — in accordance with the Law on the Central Bank — it was precisely its duty to determine the state's monetary policy without waiting for someone else to act first. In Mr. Zadornov's view, the Central Bank, having focused on detailed characteristics of the 1995 results, failed to define its own guidelines for monetary policy or specify instruments for its implementation.

First Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Petrov, however, noted that the Central Bank had actively participated in the preparation of the 1996 budget and expressed his approval of its macroeconomic targets. The Finance Ministry, in turn, sent a letter to the Central Bank with its proposals regarding the money supply, the monetary base, etc. Mr. Petrov characterized the document submitted by the Central Bank as a basis to work on, not a finished draft.

After discussion, the working group brought in a verdict saying that the document had been poorly elaborated, which prevented the deputies from determining their attitude to next year's monetary policy. The Central Bank was instructed to rework the draft so as to specify monetary policy targets and instruments. By a vote of 6 to 3, the deputies voted against recommending that the Central Bank return to the practice of centralized agricultural lending.

On the whole, the draft served as yet another reason for the deputies to criticize the Central Bank. In Aleksandr Pochinok's opinion, the submission of such an "insulting" document indicates that the Central Bank is attempting "to show the State Duma its place once again." Deputy Aleksandr Zaytsev believes that the Central Bank has turned into a self-serving structure that has limited its activity to the mere issuance of directives and instructions and has distanced itself not only from lending but also from monetary policy. The deputies were especially angered by the fact that not one of the bank's top officials had come to report to the Duma in person. The deputies were not satisfied with explanations given by a Central Bank representative that Ms. Paramonova was on a business trip to the People's Republic of China and that nearly all of her deputies were ill.

**Duma Deputies Discuss 1996 Social Fund Budgets**

*MK0510090995 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 2*

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "Large Expenditures on Capital Construction May Lead to Reorganization of the Employment Fund. The Future of the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund Is Also Called Into Question"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budgets of four social funds were discussed at a regular meeting of the State Duma's 1996 federal budget working group. The working group subjected the budget of the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund to serious criticism. The deputies were perplexed by the sum — amounting to 10 percent of all expenditures — planned in the budget to fund special programs, in particular, to create a federal computerized medical insurance system aimed at facilitating mutual payments between various Russian Federation components, and allocations to maintain the fund's staff, ac-

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counting for 1.4 percent of the budget's expense component.

According to Aleksandr Pochinok, deputy chairman of the [State Duma] Budget Committee, the fund's staff has turned into a "self-developing institution," dealing with the redistribution of property among Federation components. Mr. Pochinok said that no ministry had such funds for managerial expenses as the Compulsory Medical Insurance Fund. As a result of the discussion, the fund was instructed to submit a full account of its monthly expenditures in 1995; the Finance Ministry was directed to consider the volume of funds to be used on federal health care authorities and to determine whether subventions allocated by the fund to Federation components can be included in the amount of transfers to provinces.

During the examination of the Employment Fund budget, a proposal was made that it be abolished altogether. Deputy Vitaliy Shuba said that the fund was mainly busy settling the problem of employment for its 35,500 employees. Budget Committee Chairman Mikhail Zadornov, in turn, was surprised that, unlike other funds, which had discontinued any housing and office construction, the Employment Fund allocated 10 percent of its budget to capital construction. The deputies did not accept the arguments by the fund's representative who said that employment centers for the unemployed were under construction, not dachas or administrative buildings, and that most employees in the Federal Employment Service, which included the fund as a structural unit, were professional counselors and instructors. It was decided to set up a special working group to examine the fund's activity and to specify its functions. Based on the results of its work, a decision may be made to reorganize the fund.

The Pension Fund was instructed to submit a list of its accounts with commercial banks, including their balances as of 1 September 1995, and a list of commercial banks where the fund had kept its accounts in the course of the past two years. The Social Insurance Fund was instructed to make provisions in the budget for a raise in allowances paid when a baby is born and until it reaches the age of 18 months in keeping with the law passed by the State Duma in the spring and to consider the issue of the fund's balances, meaning a reduction in the rate of insurance paid to the fund by enterprises.

**Faction Leaders Discuss Priorities for Duma Term**

*LD0410142895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — Leader of the State Duma's Agrarian Party's faction Mikhail Lapshin demanded during the first plenary meeting of the State Duma's autumn session, that "deputies must clear up why people were killed and the parliament was disbanded in the center of Moscow on October 3 and 4, 1993."

At the initiative of Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin, faction leaders spoke about parliament's priorities until the expiration of the State Duma's term.

Lapshin stated that the State Duma must approve the federal budget for 1996 and discuss the issue of executive authorities' responsibility for the failure to make laws work.

He said that on the eve of the parliamentary elections, "all political parties and associations will have to state their positions on the problem of land ownership." He also urged the deputies to approve the Land Code "ruling out private ownership of cultivated land."

The State Duma approved the Land Code in its first reading on July 26.

Lapshin also finds it necessary to pass a law on agricultural cooperatives. He proposed that a parliamentary commission be set up to control the use of allocations to Chechnya's economic reconstruction.

Leader of the Russia's Choice faction Yegor Gaydar told the Duma that priority should be given to laws stimulating the development of the market of immovable property. Given this, laws on securities, on mortgage, and on the rights to immovable property and to operations involving immovable property must be adopted, he said.

Gaydar announced that the Russia's Choice faction had submitted to the State Duma its own draft law on guarantees of tax-payers' rights, and was also working on draft laws aimed at combatting corruption.

In addition to this, the State Duma must consider amendments to the law on bankruptcy, submitted jointly by the Russia's Choice and Yabloko factions, which are expected to protect depositors from dishonest financial organizations.

Leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party's faction Vladimir Zhirinovskiy named the laws which the State Duma must adopt before the expiration of its term.

These are the laws on the 1996 federal budget, financing of dangerous nuclear facilities, energy saving, insurance of bank deposits, and the employment fund. The State Duma must also adopt the law on the pension fund in order to prevent delays in the payment of pensions and dishonest handling of the pension fund for gaining profits.

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He said that "political forces are using television as a nuclear weapon" and that "television is pouring out torrents of lies on society", and urged deputies to adopt a law on television.

**Federation Council Rejects Criminal Code Amendments**

*LD0510090295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Federation Council Wednesday rejected amendments to the Russian Criminal Code, which were passed by the State Duma on July 12.

The Duma passed the amendments together with the Law On Fighting Organized Crime which was rejected by the Federation Council on October 3.

The upper chamber voted to reject the bills on the recommendation of the Federation Council Committees on Security and Defense and Constitutional Legislation and Legal Issues.

In particular, the committees cited the unconstitutionality of one of the Criminal Code articles which permits criminal prosecution not only for a committed crime but for false statements made during the investigation or court trial as well.

The Federation Council also rejected the amendments to Russia's judicial code passed by the Duma on July 12 and regulating court supervision over detention legality.

**Council Rejects Duma Bill on Military Service**

*LD0410230695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The Federation Council on Wednesday rejected Duma-proposed changes and amendments to the general military service bill. The lower house proposed establish a 18 month term of service from October 1, 1995, for conscripts engaged in hostilities. It also recommended to resume granting postponements of induction into military service to youths having a single parent over 50.

"The adoption of these laws will destabilise the situation during the conscription period," members of the Federation Council security committee said. This opinion coincides with that of several organisations, including the law enforcement ministries, the Emergencies Ministry, and the Federal Borgerguard Service.

Commenting on the Federation Council decision, Committee chairman Petr Shirshov said that nowadays servicemen "are performing their duties practically on the verge of human capacities." Sometimes it causes nervous breakdowns followed by violations of discipline, Shirshov said.

In case the Duma-proposed bill is passed, the Russian Armed Forces will be manned by 60 percent, committee members said.

**Council Appeals to Government Over Taleban Hostages**

*LD0410222595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Federation Council, has called on the president and the government to use all available means to settle as soon as possible an incident with the Russian Il-76 plane, of the Aerostan airline, which was forced to land in Afghanistan by the Taleban opposition group on August 3. The upper house called for the release of seven members of the plane crew "held hostage in Qandahar."

The statement was approved Wednesday by 112 votes with one abstention. A total of 90 votes are necessary to pass a resolution.

The Federation Council believes that the measure taken by the Taleban is a "flagrant violation of the international law and of the principle of humanity."

It called on the international organizations and parliaments of the countries which can exert influence on the Taleban to use their influence so that talks on the release of the Russian citizens succeed.

The Federation Council expressed its concern about the aggravated condition of one of the crew members who had been placed in an International Red Cross Committee hospital in Qandahar.

The statement says that the Aerostan airline did not consult Russian authorities as to fulfilling the order made by the Afghan state-owned Ariana airline and hence the act cannot be considered as Russia's interference in the internal Afghan conflict. Russia "does not provide support to any of the conflicting parties in Afghanistan," stressed the statement.

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**Council Adopts Referendum Law, Statement on Belarus**

*MM0410134595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Olga Burkaleva: "They Voted in Favor of Both the Law and the Referendum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At its first sitting following the parliamentary recess, the Federation Council has approved the Constitutional Law "On the Russian Federation Referendum," adopted by the State Duma 7 July. The Committee for Constitutional Legislation and Judicial-Legal Questions, on whose behalf Deputy Yelena Mizulina gave an address, believes that this law has filled the existing gap in legislation concerning forms in which citizens can participate directly in exercising their power. The law develops and details the norms contained in the previous RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law "On the RSFSR Referendum." At the same time, there are considerable differences. For example, the new law specifies that a referendum cannot be held in conditions of martial law or a state of emergency applying to the whole territory of the Russian Federation, or within three months after martial law or a state of emergency has been called off. Taking into account the federative structure of the Russian Federation and international practice, the law lays down a number of questions which cannot be submitted to a referendum. These include changes in the status of Federation components, the termination ahead of time of the powers of the Russian Federation president and both chambers of the Legislative Assembly, and also the question of their re-election ahead of time.

Straight after ratifying the law, the Federation Council adopted by 147 votes a statement which says that, at the 14 May referendum in the Republic of Belarus, 85 percent of voters supported the policy of President A. Lukashenka, aimed at economic integration with Russia. In this connection, the Federation Council deems it expedient to hold a Russian Federation referendum on the question of stepping up political and economic integration between Russia and Belarus, and proposes that the Russian Federation president, the State Duma, the government, and the political parties and public organizations support the idea of this question being submitted to a referendum.

**Gonchar Against 'Illegal' Public Funds Use in Chechnya**

*MK0410144595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Oct 95 p 3*

[Unattributed POSTFACTUM report: "Nikolay Gonchar: Outlays for War Are Illegal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Nikolay Gonchar, Federation Council budget committee chairman, announced his intention to appeal to the Constitutional Court against the illegal use of funds from the Russian budget for the Chechnya campaign. He reminded his audience that the funds channeled to Chechnya were not envisaged in the 1995 budget, whereas the only law regulating the spending of funds is the law on the budget. Nikolay Gonchar stated at a session of the upper chamber's budget committee that he intends to put a proposal before the Federation Council today to discontinue funding for the Chechnya campaign immediately.

**Legislative, Regulatory Documents 24-30 Sep**

*96P50001*

[FBIS Media Note] The following is a listing of CIS legislation recently published in the press of the CIS compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parentheses indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

**RUSSIA:**

**SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)**

Government 7 August Decree No. 788 Approving Statute For Licensing Production Of State Registration Symbols And Documentation For Machines Liable For Registration With Gostekhnadzor. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (100)

Statute On Procedure For Licensing Production Of State Registration Symbols And Documentation For Machines Liable For Registration With Gostekhnadzor, Approved By Government 7 August Decree No. 788.) (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 12) (2500)

Government 26 August Decree No. 830 On 'New Profile' For Academy Of National Economy, Accompanied By Commentary By Government Apparatus Expert Yudin. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 5) (100/300) (Text)

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Government 26 August Decree No. 834 On Plan For Cooperation Between Organs Of Executive Power In Carrying Out Search And Rescue Operations At Sea, With Commentary by Emergencies Ministry Official Ryzhkov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 3) (900)

Government 4 September Decree No. 879 On Improving System For Monitoring Export And Import Of Output, Works, And Services For Military Purpose. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (600)

Statute On Procedure For Licensing Export And Import Of Output, Works, And Services For Military Purposes, Approved By Government 4 September Decree No. 879.) (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 12) (3200)

Government 18 September Directive No. 1294 Accepting Rosgidromet Proposal On Purchase And Transportation Of Supplies To Weather Stations In Far North. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (150)

Government 19 September Directive No. 1313 On Opening Of Bryansk Airport For International Flights. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (150)

Yeltsin 19 September Edict No. 940 On Priority Measures For Ecological Improvement Of Krasnoyarsk Kray Major Industrial Centers. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 3) (400)

Yeltsin-Signed 21 September Edict No. 960 On Issue Of Additional Shares In Russian Joint-Stock Company Unified Power Grid Of Russia. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 3) (200)

Yeltsin 22 September Edict No. 963 On Formation Of 'Russian Metallurgy' Open-Type Joint-Stock Company Plus List Of Joint-Stock Companies And State Enterprises Participating In It. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (850)

**SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)**

Government 30 August Decree No. 854 On Renaming Ships Being Built For Navy. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Sep 95 p 4) (150)

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Government 9 September Decree No. 912 On Approving Statute (Not Published) On Interdepartmental Commission On Questions Of Ensuring Protection Of Intellectual Property, With Comment By Rassokhin, Chairman Of Patent And Trademarks Committee. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Sep 95 p 4) (750)

Government 26 September Decree No. 956 On Implementation Of Measures To Normalize Situation In Chechnya. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 4) (900) (Text)

Yeltsin 27 September Edict No. 971 On Military Draft In Oct-Dec 1995. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 1) (450) (Text)

**SECTION III: SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL**

Yeltsin-Signed 30 December 1994 Decree No. 2251 On State Committee For Military-Technical Policy. (Moscow YADERNYY KONTROL: OBOZRENIYE PO PROBLEMAM ORUZHIYA MASSOVOGO UNICHTOZHENIYA V ROSSII I NOVYKH NEZAVISIMYKH GOSUDARSTVAKH in Russian No. 3, Mar 95 p 20) (1000) (Text)

Government 26 August Directives 1162 On Financing Space Biomedicine Training And Research Center and 1163 On Financing Federal Space Program, Accompanied By Buravkova Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Sep 95 p 4) (100/100/400) (Text)

**LATVIA:**

Latvian Law On Plant Protection. (Moscow ZASHCHITA RASTENIY in Russian No. 7, Jul 95 pp 9-10) (1000) (Text)

## Regional Affairs

**Chechnya Reportage: Negotiations, Military, Politics**

### Rebels Threaten Talks, Refuse to Disarm

*LD0510130895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Oct 5 (INTERFAX) — The Chechen rebels threatened on Thursday to halt talks with Moscow and refused to disarm until Russian troops stopped "violating human rights" in two Chechen villages.

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The separatists "see no sense in any negotiations or disarmament as long as there are violations of human rights in the villages of Assinovskaya and Sernovodsk," said a Chechen expert on the commission appointed to monitor a military accord between the rebels and the Russian Government.

Kazbek Makhashev told INTERFAX that on Wednesday several Russian soldiers burst into one of the houses in Assinovskaya and manhandled a woman and her three children. On Thursday a women's delegation came to the Chechen capital Groznyy to demand an investigation into the incident, he said.

The Chechen members of the monitoring commission filed a protest on Thursday over "the continuing uncontrolled action of federal (army) units in Assinovskaya," Makhashev said. He said he had proposed that the commission's Russian section immediately send investigators to the village.

The expert said that late last month Assinovskaya was visited by monitoring commission officials who presented a report confirming there had been instances of human rights violations and of some Russian servicemen exceeding their powers. The report bore the signatures of members of the Russian military command in Chechnya, Makhashev said.

### Grachev: Settlement Slow, 'Unsuccessful'

*LD0510110895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1042 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shvetsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 5 Oct (ITAR-TASS) — The settlement process in Chechnya is proceeding not just slowly, but unsuccessfully, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said at a ceremony today, at which he was presenting certificates on behalf of the president of Russia to representatives of veterans organizations marking their participation in preparing and staging the 50th anniversary of victory parade.

In Grachev's opinion, the negotiation process is a tactical ruse on the part of Dudayev's supporters to allow them to build up equipment and personnel and accumulate material stocks in the foothills and mountains in the south of the republic.

According to information currently held by the Defense Ministry, there are now around 6,000 of Dudayev's supporters from the illegal armed formations ready for action. They have 12 tanks and 16 armored vehicles.

Grachev also forecast that combat operations by Dudayev's forces against the Federal forces in Chechnya could increase with the onset of foggy conditions in autumn.

### Disarmament To Resume in Urus-Martan

*LD0410181795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The special observer commission has discussed the resumption of laying down arms by the population and the exchange of prisoners of war. The meeting was attended by the commander of federal troops in Chechnya General Anatoliy Romanov.

Deputy commander Leonid Shiryayev said it was decided to resume arms laying in the villages of the Urus-Martan district. Disarmament will take place in the Alkhazurovo and Komsomolskoye communities in southern Chechnya.

Leonid Shiryayev said it was decided to exchange sick persons held by force on both sides as a gesture of good will.

The exchange is going to take place on Wednesday. Russia will release four detainees and the Chechen side three.

Leonid Shiryayev also said that the observer commission's decisions continued to be explained to field commanders. General Anatoliy Romanov and chief of staff of the Chechen forces Aslan Maskhadov will meet with field commanders in the Nadterechnoye community (northern Chechnya).

On Tuesday such a meeting took place in the district center of Vedeno (southern Chechnya).

A member of the Chechen delegation in Groznyy Akhmed Zakayev said about the resumption of arms laying in Alkhazurovo and Komsomolskoye that "preliminary work on the issue was done in advance."

"It was just required to secure the approval of observer commission's co-chairmen," he said.

The sides declared their intention to stick to the schedule approved by the observer commission and to finalize that process," Zakayev said.

He said that the Chechen side had brought up the question of the situation in the community of Sernovodsk bordering on Ingushetia.

Zakayev argues that Russia "is artificially building up tensions around Sernovodsk" although the situation there was most stable and the population had voluntarily laid down more than 40 pieces of rifled firearms.

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### POW Exchange Encounters Snags

*MM0410125695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 3*

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Astashkin: "Order: Prisoners Are Not To Be Given Up...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chechnya — The Mi-8 helicopter took off from the concrete strip and headed for southern Chechnya with a group of journalists and Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Semeykin, military physician of the medical service, on board. We were flying to Chiri-Yurt to meet with Russian soldiers captured by Dudayev's men. Eight minutes later the helicopter landed on the outskirts of the village of Staryye Atagi, where the field command post of the 324th Motorized Rifle Regiment from the Urals Military District is located. After transferring to an infantry fighting vehicle, we set out for Chiri-Yurt accompanied by Colonel Mikhail Rodyev, the regiment's commander.

Chiri-Yurt is the home town of Issa Madayev, one of Dzhokhar Dudayev's former field commanders. He does not hide the fact that in the spring and summer he was opposing the Russian troops performing combat tasks there. The paratroopers of the 7th Airborne Division, whom I had visited the day before the trip to Chiri-Yurt, had described Madayev as follows: "A clever, wily, crafty man. He must not be entirely believed."

Madayev is now cochairman of the group to seek out and exchange captured servicemen, which has been set up under the Special Observer Commission. The other cochairman is Colonel Anatoliy Yakovlev. Conversing with him the day before, I felt really concerned about the situation with regard to the prisoner exchange. After making good progress initially, it has now come to a standstill.

"We just cannot turn up the people requested by the Chechen side," Anatoliy Vasilyevich explained. "If we continue to mark time, we will ruin an important project. Where is the way out? The group's status must be raised to a higher level."

I shall add: The group lacks even the most essential things — a xerox and video equipment. Not to mention means of conveyance. According to Col. Yakovlev, the group should be "reinforced" with plenipotentiary representatives from the Russian Federation president's Commission on Prisoners of War, Internees, and MIA's, a number of main directorates of the Armed Forces General Staff, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Health, and other interested departments. Otherwise the Russian soldiers will remain the gunmen's prisoners for a long time to come. Issa Madayev's demand is unbending: "Until the 1,437 Chechens we have requested are returned to us, the soldiers will remain in our hands."

What we saw in Chiri-Yurt does not fit into any framework. The prisoners are living in a former kindergarten. They sleep fully clothed on bare mattresses. They eat what they can get. The water supply is extremely bad. As a result, one of the unfortunate servicemen — Private Arkadiy Astashov — has been suffering viral hepatitis while still up abd about.

"He needs a strict diet," the military physician tried to impress upon the Dudayev followers' guard chief, "otherwise chronic liver disease could develop. The soldier must be hospitalized urgently."

"I know nothing," the bearded guy with an assault rifle replied. "I have Maskhadov's order — the prisoner is not to be given up."

Vera Mikhaylovna, the soldier's mother, was standing alongside, wiping away tears. She is from Altay Kray. She learned that Dudayev's men had captured her son from the television program "Vesti." She had borrowed money from her pensioner neighbors for the trip to Chechnya. She has been living with her son in Chiri-Yurt for several months now. Also living here are Mariya Leonidovna, the mother of Junior Sergeant Sergey Safronov of the 276th Motorized Rifle Regiment, and Pavel Mitrofanovich, the father of Private Pavel Kolybelkin of the 503d Motorized Rifle Regiment.

In all, there are 14 captured servicemen in Chiri-Yurt, while the 15th — Private A. Rudenko — is being held in one of the mountain settlements. According to Madayev, he does not wish to return to the unit, and so he has been hidden in the mountains. We can only guess at the real reasons for the soldier's "exile...."

I left Chiri-Yurt with anxious thoughts. I continually recalled the phrase: "The prisoner is not to be given up...."

### Dudayevite Denies Fighters in Dagestan

*LD0410144395 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Colonel Aleksandr Danilenko, deputy commander of the Caucasus special border district, has confirmed to INTERFAX news agency that Chechen terrorist Shamil Basayev's gang is based near the village of Chapayevo, in Dagestan. According to Danilenko, fighters are carrying out raids from there against neighboring territories.

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In a telephone interview with our radio station today, Movladi Udugov, Dudayev's press spokesman, denied reports that there are Chechen fighters in Dagestan.

[Begin Udugov recording] The Chechen side regards the allegations that some sort of armed gangs have infiltrated Dagestan territory as just more of the same sort of thing we have had throughout this war — about Dudayev allegedly fleeing to Turkey, and so on, and so forth. These are all methods from the arsenal of so-called special propaganda. These reports are designed to ignite a hotbed of tension between Dagestan and Chechnya. The Chechen side officially declares once again that, for its part, it will not permit any actions whatsoever which could be aimed — or interpreted as such by the Dagestan side, the Dagestan people — at stirring up any tension. [end recording]

### Basayev Threatens More Terrorism

*MK0410150895 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian*
*No. 67, 1-8 Oct 95 (Signed to press 3 Oct 95) p 4*

[Interview with Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev by Sanobar Shermatova: "'I Can Show Up in Moscow, at Your Editorial Office or at the Kremlin, and Nothing Will Happen to Me'" — datelined Shali-Groznyy-Moscow; article is accompanied by Basayev photo dated 29 September 1995]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Shermatova] Now negotiations are under way. Is there a chance that they will be completed successfully?

[Basayev] Look at what ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA writes: "Russian Side Demands." But Russia has no right to demand anything, because we have signed an agreement, not an ultimatum. Next, Russia states that the volunteers must surrender 10,000-15,000 weapons. Where do these figures come from? They are not mentioned in the agreement. The Dudayev side is being blamed for the fact that the buyout of weapons from the local population is not proceeding. Who is to blame for this? The Russian side, which has no money to buy them with. Do you understand? The Russian side still continues shelling. On 24 and 25 September they bombed in the area of Makazhoy, Roshni-Chu, and Serzhen-Yurt. A new tactic has emerged: Helicopters fire on villages, and then Romanov states that those were not Russian helicopters. What were they then, I'd like to know: Are we having aggressive visitors from outer space? The agreement provides for a cease-fire. But we cannot prove that we are not shooting; unlike the Russian side, we have no mass media. Another point of the agreement is the exchange of all prisoners of war and those held illegally — all for all. There are thousands of Chechens in Russian screening camps, 99 percent of whom are civilians who have never fought nor are ever going to fight. And I am being accused of keeping 47 prisoners of war. Today I have none. The Russian side is using farfetched excuses for not releasing the Chechens from the camps. Those who have money buy out their relatives. Therefore, the first provision of the cease-fire agreement is not being fulfilled. Neither is the second point — about the exchange of prisoners of war. Meanwhile, the Russian side demands that the third provision — the surrender of weapons — be implemented immediately.

We see this as an obvious unwillingness to make peace. The Russian army is stalling for time so as, when cold weather sets in, to launch punitive operations and destroy us. But we are not sitting idle; we are taking our own measures.

[Shermatova] What is meant by "our own measures"? Basayev's detachment is planning new terrorist acts?

[Basayev] We'll also run over Russia with fire and sword unless the war in Chechnya stops. It is easier for us. We have more possibilities. Russia's territory is huge. We grew up in Russia. We know all the ins and outs. We'll fight both here and there if there is no peace in Chechnya.

[Shermatova] But this means only one thing — a continuation of the war?

[Basayev] I believe that peace is possible, after all. But for this to happen, troops must be pulled out. As long as there is at least one Russian soldier on this territory, the war will not end. We'll kill them. When the troops leave, we'll come to terms. Let them introduce even 10 divisions if the Chechen people so wish. But they will never come here by force and stay — this will never be.

[Shermatova] So if the war erupts again, what will happen to Chechnya?

[Basayev] When an army burns and destroys everything in its path, it will not accomplish any victories. We have chosen our path: freedom or death, and we'll secure our freedom. [passage omitted]

[Shermatova] Many Russian politicians believe that after the elections in Russia the negotiations could move along more successfully if, naturally, the people who come to power continue with democratic reforms. Do you agree with this?

[Basayev] At present the situation is this — the worse for Russia, the better for us. If the Communists or those idiotic Zhirinovskiyites come in, thank God! Let everybody in Russia fight everybody else.

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[Shermatova] But no matter how you relate to Russia, you will still have to coexist with it. How do you envision this?

[Basayev] If Russia takes our interests into account, why should we not come to terms then? Today they are talking about a single geopolitical and economic space. Very well, we'll help, if necessary, by providing two special purpose brigades for the common defense space: This is beneficial for us.

[Shermatova] How do you assess statements by the team investigating the Budennovsk case that at present they are in no position to detain you and that an army operation is needed for that?

[Basayev] I am not interested in what the investigating team is doing, because this was all bluffing from the very start. Today — if it becomes a matter of principle — I can, for instance, come to Moscow and show up at your office or the Kremlin, and nothing will happen to me because we have taken appropriate measures, and they know it. We can undertake a military operation ourselves. And we'll do it in Moscow if the troops are not pulled out of Chechnya. Pass this on to the Muscovites: We'll arrange the last day of Pompeii [for them] unless we are allowed to organize free elections under the supervision of international organizations. This is not a threat but a warning. [passage omitted]

[Shermatova] Do you believe that cooperation of all political forces in the Chechen Republic is possible for the sake of peace?

[Basayev] The opposition, which has turned against the Chechens, are traitors. It is another question why we are not destroying traitors to the nation. [passage omitted]

[Shermatova] Are you not afraid that they may kill you?

[Basayev] The bullet with the name "Shamil" on it will not bypass me. Whatever God has predestined for me will be.

### Budget Theft, Assasination Attempt Linked

*LD0410191495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The same forces interested in impeding investigation of theft of federal budget allocations may be responsible for the attempted murder in Groznyy September 20 of presidential representative to Chechnya, Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov, Russia's deputy chief negotiator Arkadiy Volskiy told a briefing at the INTERFAX main office in Moscow Wednesday [4 October].

"Oleg Nikolayevich (Lobov) has gone too deep into the case of the stolen 700 billion rubles set aside for restoration of Chechnya's economy. Investigators are working on this version, too," he said.

Volskiy highly praised Lobov's performance in Chechnya. "This man can do right and reliable things in critical situations," he added.

Volskiy supported President Yeltsin's intention to handle economic rather than military or political matters in Chechnya first. "This is the only right step," he remarked.

Volskiy said the most expedient measure would be to bring on-line Chechnya's oil industry. "Having restored oil production and refinement, the republic could revive the economy on its own," he added.

Volskiy said the federal authorities should hand compensations for damaged housing directly to Chechnya residents.

Volskiy supported a stronger role of the Russian civil administration in Chechnya in distribution of financial resources.

### Lobov on Contacts With Rebels

*LD0410125095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1101 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Ruslan Maysigov and Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian president's plenipotentiary in Chechnya Oleg Lobov who arrived in Groznyy from Moscow this morning, has a packed schedule for this Wednesday.

Lobov who is also secretary of the powerful Russian Security Council, will discuss progress in implementing the agreement on a peaceful settlement in Chechnya with Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov who is expected to come today, ITAR-TASS learnt at the press service of the Russian Security Council.

Later, Lobov will participate in a visiting session of the Collegium of the Fuel and Energy Ministry in Groznyy, which will be held at the building of the pro-Moscow Chechen government for national revival.

Lobov told ITAR-TASS before his departure from Moscow that no direct contacts were established between federal forces and separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

"They are conducted indirectly through Aslan Maskhadov, chief of the staff of Dudayev's illegal armed detachments, and his people," he noted.

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"Dudayev's statements printed by the press are very contradictory and disquieting," Lobov stressed.

The president's plenipotentiary noted that growing numbers of rebel field commanders understand "inexpediency of large-scale formation of the so-called self-defence groups".

The two sides concur in the opinion that their formation is necessary only in individual cases, he continued. "These groups can be formed only to protect villages and towns," Lobov added.

The plenipotentiary noted that, apart from the official talks with Maskhadov on implementing the reached understandings, direct negotiations are also conducted with field commanders.

According to information from military experts, only 60 percent of field commanders are directly subordinated to Maskhadov.

### Lobov: Troops Remain Outside Sernovodsk

*LD0410142495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1238 GMt 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — Instead of entering Sernovodsk, federal troops will retain positions on the outskirts of that town, President Yeltsin's plenipotentiary emissary and the Secretary of the Russian Security Council Oleg Lobov told INTERFAX in Moscow.

In Lobov's view, the federal authorities will make no moves if the disarmament of the illegally-formed groupings is carried out in keeping with an earlier agreement in Sernovodsk. It is emissaries of the recently-formed law enforcement bodies of the Chechen republic who must hold negotiations with the supporters of Dzhokhar Dudayev, Lobov said.

According to Lobov, federal emissaries and Chechen chief-of-staff Aslan Maskhadov find a growing number of points of covergence on the issue of whether large-scale action for the creation of citizen protection units makes sense. The Chechen negotiators used to insist on the creation of self-protection units in most villages and towns.

Unfortunately, many field commanders refuse to obey Maskhadov's orders and take independent action, Lobov said by way of explaining why federal emissaries have to expand contacts with field commanders.

The federal government has made a decision on payment for surrendered weapons and it is the Ministry on the Affairs of Nationalities and Regional Policies who will be expected to shell out 2 billion rubles on moves in Chechnya this month, Lobov said. But it is only in exceptional cases that payment will be offered for surrendered weapons. A different approach to the matter in question may turn Chechnya into an arms market, Lobov told INTERFAX.

### New Conditions for Disarmament Introduced

*LD0410193395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Ruslan Maisigov and Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The process of Chechen fighters disarmament which is due to restart on Thursday will be held under new conditions, Oleg Lobov, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's personal envoy for Chechnya, told TASS on Wednesday.

According to Lobov, members of the special observer commission, monitoring the inplementation of military accords in the rebel republic, will "coordinate the schedule of (rebel) units disarmament directly with field commanders."

Lobov was not very optimistic about the pace of Chechnya's disarmament. It will take "a long time", he said.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin noted on Wednesday that "the disarmament process in Chechnya has not been properly adjusted."

"Everyone must arm himself with patience and follow a line towards disarmament, further negotiations and preparations for elections in Chechnya", the premier told reporters.

### Lobov: Russia To Finance Arms Purchase

*LD0410123995 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Oleg Lobov, the presidential envoy in Chechnya, has said that the Russian Government resolved the issue of financing the purchase of weapons from Chechen militants. This month, the Russian Ministry for Affairs of Nationalities and Regional Policy is to allocate 2 billion rubles for this purpose. However, there will be no purchase of weapons en masse. It will be carried out only in certain instances because, unexpectedly for us, we can create an arms market in Chechnya, Lobov said. [passage omitted]

### Lobov: Spending Must Be Controlled

*LD0510085995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Finance Ministry and those banks which

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finance repair work in Chechnya must control the way their money is spent, presidential envoy Oleg Lobov has said. He was speaking in the wake of reports about what was described as massive embezzlement of funds channeled into the restoration of the Chechen economy.

"The one who gives the money must also see how it is spent," Lobov said.

He said that investments into Chechnya's war-devastated economy grew 170% last month as compared with last August to 1 trillion 326 billion rubles.

"No constitutional bodies will be set up to monitor spending in Chechnya," Lobov said. However, he called for the openness of financing to public scrutiny.

He believes that a great deal depends on the correct personnel policies, on who will be responsible for spending funds and the way moneys spend should be accounted for. The presidential envoy believes there must be public control, too.

As he spoke at an enlarged on-site session of the collegium of the Fuel and Energy Ministry in Groznyy, Lobov called for a greater role of commercial banks in financing repair and restoration programs in Chechnya. He said that commercial banks had already earmarked 258 billion for the purpose.

### Power Supply To Be Fully Restored in 1996

*LD0410194995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1759 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Ruslan Maisagov and Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The power supply system of Chechnya will be fully restored in 1996. A two-third of the planned volume of work has already been completed, it was stated at a Fuel and Energy ministry of Russia's enlarged board session held here.

Among others who took part in the session were Russian President's permanent representative in Chechnya Oleg Lobov, Russian Fuel and Energy minister Yuriy Shafranik and chairman of Chechnya's government of national revival Salambek Khadzhiyev. In particular, it was noted during the session that out of 1959 km. of power supply network 1300 km. has been restored. Attention was drawn to ensure security of restored work. Three workers were killed by Chechen militants. Twenty motor vehicles were snatched from power engineering specialists.

It was also noted that the success of the restored work now depends on timely financing. Out of a planned allocation of 3 trillion 300 billion rubles the power engineering specialists have spent only 400 billion.

### Chechen Oil To Be Exported Duty Free

*LD0410194695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1745 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — Oleg Lobov, President Boris Yeltsin's personal envoy for Chechnya, said on Wednesday that according to a newly signed presidential decree all export-bound oil produced in Chechnya will be freed from duties.

According to the presidency, Yeltsin today signed a decree aiming to boost the development of Chechnya's oil sector.

The decree orders the State Customs committee and the Ministry of Fuel and Energy of the Russian Federation to ensure financial and economic support for the state-owned enterprises of the oil industry in the Chechen republic and provide funding for the social sphere in Chechnya.

Chechnya's oil industry has good prospects for the future. The decision to exempt its export-bound oil from customs duties will increase its oil revenue by half, Russian Minister of Fuel and Energy Yuriy Shafranik said at a meeting of the ministry board in Groznyy on Wednesday.

In October and November, 180 metric tons of oil will be produced in Chechnya every month. Later, oil production is planned to rise up to four million tons per year. At present, 80 oil wells are being operated in Chechnya, the minister said.

### Duma Urges Help for Ethnic Russians

*LD0410131395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1149 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — Members of the State Duma commission for investigating the causes and circumstances of the emergence of the crisis situation in Chechnya urged today at a press conference to create all the necessary conditions for the resettlement from Chechnya of all ethnic Russians, who wish to move to other parts of the Russian Federation.

According to member of the commission Nina Zatsepina, who visited the village of Asinovskaya recently, only 2,000 out of 8,000 Russians remained in the village. During the past three years the Dudayev administration, gunmen and propagandists were doing all they

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could for making Russians leave Asinovskaya. They threatened them, fired at their houses, forced them to sell their dwellings dirt-cheap and confiscated their cars. Often violence was used against them — many people disappeared without trace, Zatsepina said.

At night Russians are afraid to go out of the house. The only mill is owned by a Chechen, who does not accept grain from them for grinding. They are not allowed to sell their produce at market places. The only food store that remained in the village was closed down recently, she continued. Humanitarian cargoes are distributed exclusively among the Chechen population.

The presence of Russian Interior Ministry troops in Chechnya is the only guarantee of the survival of Russians. If Russian troops are withdrawn, the situation of ethnic Russians will become absolutely hopeless, Zatsepina believes.

In this connection she and Stanislav Govorukhin, chairman of the commission, urged the Duma to discuss and adopt as soon as possible the law "On the social rehabilitation of victims of the criminal regime in Chechnya."

### Field Commanders' Talks Just 'First Step'

*MM0510082395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Oct 95 p 1*

[Report by Majors Sergey Babichev and Vitaliy Stugovets: "Talks in No-Man's-Land"]

[FBIS Translated Text] 28 September. The outskirts of the village of Kurchala, which is in the east of Chechnya. The line of contact between federal troops and detachments of Dudayev's gunmen runs through here.

At 1300 hours in this area a meeting took place between Lieutenant General Aleksandr Naumov, commander of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry force grouping in Chechnya, and Sultan Geliskhanov, commander of the Eastern Sector Militia Group.

A little more detail about him.

Geliskhanov — formerly a police major — headed the state security department in Dudayev's government. He was appointed to this post owing to his personal loyalty to Dudayev. Like Dudayev, Geliskhanov is from the Yalkhora clan. As leader of the special services, Geliskhanov, according to FSB [Federal Security Service] Public Relations Center data, had a direct hand in the intensification of intelligence activity by Dudayev's supporters in Russian krays and oblasts adjacent to Chechnya.

Simultaneously Geliskhanov was in charge of work with journalists. We were shown a copy of his letter of 7 January 1995 in which he informed Dudayev of expenditure of $1.5 million on "payments to journalists" and requested the allocation of another $1 million with the aim of getting journalists to cover events in Chechnya in a positive light for Dudayev's regime.

Following the retreat of Dudayev's supporters from Groznyy Geliskhanov was in charge of the defense of the East and Southeast sectors of Chechnya bordering Dagestan and Georgia, and today he is still one of the most influential people in Dudayev's entourage, capable of affecting events not only in the region he controls but also in Chechnya as a whole.

Understandably, contacts with him were extremely necessary to the Russian side. But it was not all that easy to arrange a meeting with Geliskhanov. It was necessary to get through the whole talks chain of command before reaching an agreement on a meeting between Gen. Naumov and Geliskhanov. The last link in the chain was a meeting between Colonel Aleksandr Panasenkov, commander of a motorized rifle regiment, and a group of field commanders from the Kurchala area of Chechnya. At that time the gunmen promised to stop firing on the regiment's positions and facilitate the organization of a meeting with Geliskhanov. They kept their word.

Generally talks are now a commonplace thing in various areas of Chechnya. They are proceeding at practically all levels — from government to battalion and company level, so to speak. Incidentally, each has its own problems. While at the former level extremely large-scale questions are discussed — about political power in the Chechen Republic, the universal disarmament of illegal armed formations — at the latter it is primarily social and everyday problems that are discussed — travel from village to village, visiting cemeteries located on territory controlled by federal troops. The current talks, based on the abovementioned gradation, can be classified as being at the level of pregovernment contacts. But, as practice shows, it is precisely at talks where there is no punctilious regard for diplomatic etiquette and constant monitoring by international observers that the sides' real position and their opinion regarding the agreements already concluded are established.

...Dudayev's delegation headed by Geliskhanov turned up substantially late. Let us get acquainted. Geliskhanov is a gray-haired, smart man of about 45 years of age. He immediately explained clearly that he did not intend to broach any political questions. The only subject for discussion was the implementation of the agreement on the military block of questions. Its main substance, let us recall, is the disarmament of illegal armed formations and the steady withdrawal of federal troops from Chechnya. These problems are indisputably interrelated.

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It is just that everybody has his own understanding of this interrelationship. Geliskhanov is convinced that if people in eastern areas of Chechnya have started surrendering weapons federal troops must leave them immediately. In fact, of the order of 60 assault rifles and up to 50 grenade launchers have already been redeemed here. But this is out of the 20,000-25,000 (!) weapons available in this region. But even this was enough for two regiments of federal forces to leave the area. Is this not a specific step from the Russian side toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict?

Alas, so far Dudayev's supporters have paid no attention to all the arguments and practical measures.

Yet let us not be pessimistic. The first step — to establish personal contacts — has been taken. There is also an agreement on a second meeting which each side will attend, this time with specific proposals.

**Counterterrorism Group Set Up in Stavropol**

*LD0410225395 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] A permanent working group to coordinate the work of law enforcement bodies and power departments on preventing terrorist acts has been set up in Stavropol Territory, INTERFAX has learned from the Office of the Stavropol Territory Prosecutor. Led by the territory's prosecutor, Yuriy Lushnikov, the working group comprises heads of territorial branches of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Federal Security Service, the military prosecutor's office, the customs and immigration service, as well as representatives of the command of the Caucasian special border guard district and the North-Caucasian internal troops district.

The working group will given overall operational control in the area bordering on Chechnya.

**Army's Conduct Protested in Volgograd Election**

*LD0410135695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Gennadiy Trofimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VOLGOGRAD, October 4 (ITAR-TASS) — A military garrison stationed in Volgograd used military methods during a canvassing campaign in support of its candidates nominated to the post of the Volgograd city mayor and the city government. Local political observers and the press said that the activities of the military in Volgograd on Sunday when the elections to the city Duma were held resembled an attempt to seize power by force. Commander of the military garrison colonel Stepanenko had authorized the servicemen to display military hardware and other ammunition, hold a parade of guards of honor and use portable radio stations as a means of psychological pressure to make the city population vote for the military candidates.

Despite the pompous outfit, none of the 24 candidates nominated to the city Duma and the other candidate who stood for the post of the city mayor, have been elected.

In a letter addressed to Russia's Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, which was handed over to deputy chief of staff of the Russian Armed Forces Anatoly Bogdanov who had arrived in Volgograd to clarify the matter on behalf of Pavel Grachev, the regional heads expressed their protest against the aggressive activities of the command of the Volgograd military garrison which had actively "meddled" in politics. However, it was pointed out that the incident would not affect the attitude to the military and their families.

A meeting between Pavel Grachev's messenger and the first elected city mayor Yuriy Chekhov was held behind closed doors today and continued around two hours.

Later in the day, a commander of the North Caucasian military district colonel-general Anatoliy Kwashnin has arrived in Volgograd to continue an investigation into the incident.

**Vladimir Deputies Vie With Moscow on Election Timing**

*MK0410121195 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 2*

[Report by Yelena Viktorova: "Vladimir Authorities Have Quarreled Over Presidential Edict. Local Deputies Are Defending Their Right To Set the Date of Elections to Local Self-Government Bodies Independently"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The law "On Basic Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Government," signed by President Yeltsin, and the edict on elections to the power bodies of Federation components, issued almost at the same time, have already ignited controversy between local power branches.

The Vladimir Oblast Duma passed a law this week stipulating that local gubernatorial elections should be held on the same day, 17 December, as the elections to the Russian parliament. Vladimir's deputies refer to the law "On Basic Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Government," which, in their view, has granted them the right to schedule gubernatorial elections independently on six-months' notice unless this is done by the regional administration head.

Meanwhile, the head of the Vladimir administration, Yuriy Vlasov, pointed out to the local people's rep-

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resentatives yesterday that the presidential edict, which came in the wake of the above law, definitely stipulated the date of the local self-government elections: December 1996. According to Yuriy Vlasov, "under no circumstances" will he agree to sign a law passed by the oblast legislative assembly that "openly contradicts an edict of the head of state." The deputies immediately responded with an ultimatum, threatening that, if the governor refuses to certify their document with his signature, "on 4 October, the law, signed by the chairman of the legislative assembly, will be published in the local press, and the elections for town and rayon heads will be held this December all the same." Moreover, the deputies dropped a hint that if the head of administration "makes no concessions," they will schedule by their own law gubernatorial elections at the same time as the elections to the local legislative assembly.

Despite "the fight between the executive and legislative branches" flaring up, the presidential administration has perceived in this conflict nothing complicated from the juridical viewpoint and is advising that Vladimir deputies "simply take a closer look at the edict by Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin]." The leaders of the presidential administration's Directorate for Work With Territories assured your SEGODNYA correspondent that "the policy remains that it is the incumbent heads of provincial administrations who are to organize the December parliamentary elections, as well as the elections of local legislatures and local self-government within the time frame established by the president." They explain the fight over the timing of the elections most likely by the desire of provincial lawmakers to place future elections under their control, holding them according to their own rules. Meanwhile, next year, the presidential administration is hoping, the new State Duma will have time to pass a "model" law, common to all provinces, on elections to the bodies of local self-government.

At the same time, they hold in the Directorate for Work With Territories that the Vladimir deputies "cannot fail to understand that their desire to individually schedule and hold elections is hopeless," and they put the oblast Duma demarche down "most likely to the wish of certain local politicians to surface in the eyes of the voters with the elections drawing near."

**Month of Civil Defense Rehearsal Begins in Murmansk**

*MM0510083695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 2*

[Report by Vladimir Gundarov: "City Prepares for Civil Defense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Murmansk — The population of Murmansk began to prepare for actions in emergency situations 2 October. Things will not, of course, go so far as "dummy" nuclear explosions at the Kola nuclear electric power station or an earthquake at Khibiny. It is just that a civil defense month has been declared in the city. Throughout this period leaders of the civil defense and emergency situations staff will propagandize the culture of "healthy breathing through a gas mask" and train people to live "from signal to signal of chemical attack." The planned measures may not be very appealing, but city and enterprise leaders do not doubt their utility.

**Novosibirsk Mayor on Oblast's Winter Readiness**

*954F3585A Novosibirsk SOVETSKAYA SIBIR in Russian 26 Sep 95 p 1*

[Report on meeting with journalists given by Novosibirsk Mayor Viktor Tolokonskiy; place and date not given; by N. Antipina: "Meeting in the Mayor's Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Novosibirsk Mayor Viktor Tolokonskiy has traditionally met with journalists once every two months and answered their questions, first and foremost on the major issues.

**On Preparedness for Winter.** This year the mayor's office has had to resolve these issues under conditions of great indebtedness to the energy suppliers. At the end of the latest cold season, the local authority was confronted with a dilemma—either to find the money for immediate payment to energy suppliers and entrust them with the responsibility of supplying the city with fuel, or resolve the problem for themselves by liquidating the tax indeotedness of a great many enterprises. The second alternative was chosen, although it involved a system that was lengthy and complex in terms of time and number of participants in "the chain."

**As a result,** power stations of the energy system have a solid fuel reserve—more than 1,700,000 tonnes of coal and about 30-45,000 tonnes of furnace fuel oil. The local authority has financed all the repair work for central power systems through the budget. Repairs were effected for available city housing assets, schools, public health facilities, and the entire internal heat supply

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system. Departmental consumers of thermal energy have also been required to assist.

The heating system was initially energized a week ago and activation will be gradually intensified over a three-week period. A portion is functioning, and those who are not receiving heat, who are not enjoying the benefits of hot water—please be patient for another two weeks or so. There is no need to become unnerved. The city's heat-supply system is over-centralized, to the extent that a breakdown in one sector cannot help but have an effect on the normal operation of others. The energy sector lives year-round under such strain.

**Problems.** Work is not yet completed at all heating mains of Central, Zheleznodorozhnyy, and Dzerzhinskiy Rayons. Almost everything on the left bank is shut down. Efforts continue to conclude contracts for fuel delivery. City housing assets are a source of anxiety, where service lines are linked with those of enterprises heavily indebted to the energy industry. Then again, the entire oblast is indebted to the country's energy industry and faces the threat of power cut-off.

Subsidies for energy consumption by the populace that have not been stipulated by the federal budget impose a significant burden upon the local budget. As a result, the enumerated amount of approximately 50 billion rubles [R] has been overspent by R5 billion in direct financing—for various budget line items. The mayor faces a difficult discussion with deputies of the city assembly on amendments to the budget for fourth quarter, for whereas the executive authority has managed to reduce its energy-related debts receivable to zero, the indebtedness with respect to other lines has increased. Thus, we see a financing discrepancy that was simply impossible to avoid, given the constant budget deficit.

For this same reason, the housing lease plan in the third quarter will not be fulfilled, although it is expected that the lag will be eliminated in the fourth quarter.

**Construction of the Metro.** Some R37 billion (almost half the amount promised) was received from the federal budget for development of the metro system, and another R2 billion in treasury bonds. Local budget financing for the project amounted to R5.5 billion and the populace contributed R300 million. In this regard, the mayor asks that I thank our kind and unselfish city citizens and the patriotically disposed directors of enterprises and organizations (some transferred R30-50 million), as well as the oblast governor, who is constantly interceding in Moscow on behalf of the city and its needs.

But alas—the money is meager. In addition to general maintenance of the metro, we have been able to build sections of road here and there, finish the crossings at Marx and Kalinin Squares, straighten up areas that had been covered over with gridwork.... The metro builders themselves worked actively to repair the municipal bridge. A high assessment is awarded this effort.

The Metro Construction Support Fund has prepared materials for the conduct of a special lottery. The mayor is approaching this matter carefully and has not yet signed the documents for its implementation. But the project is progressing. The mayor's office has also decided to establish several sponsorship funds. They are promised to be published in October.

**On Elections and Self-Government.** The mayor anticipated numerous questions on this topic, but they were not forthcoming. He then stated that he was in favor of the election of heads of administration, but felt it was necessary to conduct them more quickly, since for the current heads desiring to be elected, "delay is the kiss of death." There are a great many problems in our lives, and the head of executive authority is responsible for everything. Other aspirants to the office are in a better position, being able to criticize from afar. The longer the preelection period, the more "hounds" come to call on the existing head.

The mayor termed the legislative basis for the organs of self-government to be generally acceptable, although certain articles are imprecisely prescribed, thus creating problems in implementation of the law.

### Irkutsk Governor Appeals to Ecology Conference

*954F3585B Irkutsk VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 95 p 1*

[Appeal by Yu.A. Nozhikov: "Appeal of the Irkutsk Oblast Governor to Participants in the Russian-Canadian International Conference"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed participants in the International Conference "Responsibility for the State of the Ecology"!

I am happy to welcome you to Irkutsk. The conference "Responsibility for the State of the Ecology," within the framework of the Russian-Canadian project "Federalism in Cooperation," is dedicated to one of the most pressing problems of our time. Contamination of the surrounding natural environment, global changes in the planet's climate, the disappearance of biological species, and deterioration of the state of the atmosphere's protective ozone layer are not marked by political boundaries.

The present-day period of existence of the Russian Federation is characterized by a transfer of decisionmaking

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with respect to many economic, social, and ecological problems from the federal to the regional level. This is a natural process being observed in all countries with a federative state structure. All the preconditions are available for the development of cooperation between the entities of two federative states similar to one another to a great degree—Russia and Canada.

The value of Baykal to all of Russia and all of mankind and the economic potential of Irkutsk Oblast require special attention, a careful, gentle approach, and new management decisions. An exchange of practical experience between Russian and Canadian specialists in the area of environmental protection issues at the federal and regional levels, along with the optimization of mutual relations between regions and the center, will facilitate improvements in the system by which we manage the use of natural resources and protect nature, based on democratic principles and foundations.

I wish you a successful conference. I am sure that our cooperation will be fruitful and will yield practical results in the development of federalism and improvements in the state of the ecology.

## Economic Issues

### Yasin: Partial Economic Stabilization by Year's End

*LD0510113895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1055 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By Robert Serebrennikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, October 5 (ITAR-TASS) — It will not be possible to fully stabilise the economic situation in Russia by the end of 1995, but "this goal will be partially achieved", Russian Minister for Economics Yevgeniy Yasin told ITAR-TASS today, outlining the prospects of the country's economic development.

"This process has no definite deadlines, after achieving which one could rest on one's laurels," he added.

Yasin also said that he was not aware of any plans to set up a Ministry for Industry, which are now being discussed in the press. "This is idle talk. We have not discussed such a decision," the minister pointed out. At the same time, Yasin noted that he was not sure of the expediency of such a ministry at the time when there was the Ministry for Economics in Russia.

### Deputy Economics Minister Urges Budget Compromise

*LD0510085195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 4 (INTERFAX) — The Russian government and the parliament can and should reach a compromise on the '96 draft federal budget, Russian Deputy Economics Minister Sergey Vasilyev told a press conference in Moscow today.

Vasilyev said such a compromise might be achieved "through normal constructive work for coordinating differences between the parliament and the government." He said he believed that the parliament might insist on the restructuring of expenditure items fixed in the draft budget "because this means a political decision regarding the distribution of tax-payers' money."

Vasilyev said the government was currently under serious pressure exercised by those seeking an increase in expenses on defense and agriculture. He said he did not think that, for instance, the social sphere could be sacrificed for the sake of the military-industrial complex or the agricultural-industrial complex.

With regards to debates concerning the budgeted inflation rate, which deputies believe too low, Vasilyev said that the 5% inflation rate proposed by deputies was unacceptable. "If we fix in the budget such a high growth in prices, this will make it impossible to attract investments into production and will undermine the confidence of Western creditors in the Russian economy as well as jeopardize talks on the foreign debt's restructuring," he said. Vasilyev said he believed that discussion might be held only on such limits of monthly inflation as from 1.2% to 3%.

### Public 'Gobbling Up' State Savings Loan Bonds

*MM0410135495 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 2*

[Report by Yelena Vishnevskaya: "State Starts Borrowing From Private Individuals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Friday 29 September, 48 commercial banks and financial institutions began selling new state securities intended primarily for the population — state savings loan bonds.

None of Russia's citizens seem to have been done out of the right of buying state savings loan bonds — the Savings Bank of the Russian Federation, the "Capital Savings Bank" Joint-Stock Bank, Russia's Promstroybank, Tveruniversalbank, Universalbank, and others that have subsidiaries and branches in all of Russia's cities subscribed for the bonds (to put it more

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simply, they bought the bonds wholesale in order to sell them to Russian citizens retail). Moreover, there should theoretically be enough bonds for all comers — the Finance Ministry has stipulated a first series of 1 trillion rubles [R]. However, there is the fear that the new securities, which can indeed protect accumulated funds (let us remind you that the income from the first coupon will be paid at 102.74 percent annual interest), will not reach citizens but will be bought up by commercial structures interested in placing their own capital in state-guaranteed securities. It will become clear in the near future how right this pessimistic forecast is.

Right now the market is keenly gobbling up the bonds. According to Bella Zlatkis, deputy finance minister and leader of the Securities and Financial Market Department, demand from banks and financial institutions was so great that three times as many bonds could have been circulated under this subscription as were effectively the case. However the Finance Ministry, true to the principle of moderation, did not take the risk. As a result of the considerable demand many banks paid more than face value for the bonds from the Finance Ministry, in other words R102,000 or even R103,000.

As is customary on the market, the client pays for everything — the bonds will be offered to buyers at prices over and above face value. What is more, banks will charge commission for selling the new securities to customers. All this will render state bonds more profitable than previously announced. But not much, since the bond issue is fairly large and the market evens out prices — where prices of state savings loan bonds are too high there will be no customers wanting to buy the bonds and banks will have to lower the price; if the price is too low, a long line of customers will raise the price to the right level.

Undoubtedly, anyone who invests money earned through honest labor in savings loan bonds wants to be sure that his rubles will not vanish like the money entrusted to "MMM" and similar companies. According to Bella Zlatkis, the government is also "building a pyramid" since, after all, any borrowing, needless to say, amounts to a pyramid. But the government will use a special scheme to sell the bonds that is not price-based (where money is borrowed at an increasingly high price as happened with the "MMM" saga). And the Finance Ministry's three-year experience of borrowing within the country enables one to be sure that the new loans on old lines will be beneficial for both the government and citizens.

But it is not only the danger of the "pyramid" that is making potential savings loan bond customers suspicious. Was it not the expenditure on military operations in Chechnya, over and above this year's budget, that caused the government borrowing? Perhaps things are far worse with Russia's economy — otherwise why issue a loan?

According to Bella Zlatkis, the Finance Ministry began to formulate the regulations and procedure governing this borrowing long before Russia had problems with Chechnya. What is more, the size of the new loan cannot resolve these difficulties — it is too small for that.

The money obtained from placing the first series of state savings loan bonds will be used to fund the budget deficit, in other words it will enter the budget and be spent in the course of budget implementation on requirements envisaged in sections of the budget.

The Moscow Society for the Protection of the Interests of Depositors and Holders of Savings Bank Securities, which comprises people who have put their trust the state in the past and those who have suffered as a result of state policy, believes that the issuing of new securities indicates that the incumbent government wants to create a group of citizens in society who have pinned their future financial prosperity on the future of the government.

On the one hand, this is not entirely a good thing — unable to "put to use" the money as effectively as commercial structures, the government is nevertheless promising income on the loans comparable to the income from commercial activity. This means that collected taxes are being redistributed in favor of holders of state securities. On the other hand, the governments of many countries do the same and this does not make the population unhappy — after all, lots of bonds are issued, the price is affordable, and the majority stand to gain.

### Central Bank Predicts Further Banking Crises

*MK0410144695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 30 Sep 95 p 1*

[Report by Olga Romanova: "Central Bank Has Called on Bankers To Get Ready for New Crises. Election Outcome Has Been Made Dependent on the State of Banking System"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Capital city banks, "spearheading the Russian banking system," laid their hearts' sorrows bare to the Moscow Government and the Central Bank at yesterday's conference "Moscow Banks and Business: Ways To Cooperate." However, Central Bank Deputy Chairman Andrey Kozlov, citing a universal "virus of distrust" as one of the causes of the banking system's ill health, warned that banking crises will recur

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in the next two or three years in view of the overall economic situation. "We should be financially ready for this and not switch over to personalities, because the time of slack, liberal regulation is up. Together we have stuck fast in the mire, and together will we scramble out," he told the bankers, who were shocked at the prospect.

Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, one of the conference organizers, noted that it was not for reasons of momentary advantage or decorousness that the Moscow Government "inscribed on its banner the goal of creating favorable conditions for the functioning of the banking system as a whole," and, therefore, he would be more pleased if the Central Bank voiced its intention to resolve the major problems of the banking system in the next two or three years. The mayor, for his part, pledged to approach the Moscow Duma with a move to reduce taxation rates for city banks to the lowest level in Russia (the issue being to a considerable degree under the control of local authorities: tax payments of Moscow banks amount to 45 percent, whereas St. Petersburg banks pay 35 percent in taxes, and Chuvash banks, for instance, 26 percent). The Moscow Government also intends to overcome a certain psychological barrier and to guarantee investment directed at municipal development. In response, the banks pledged to support Moscow's economy with low-interest and interest-free loans.

The dialogue of the bankers with the Central Bank and the Moscow Government was not free from a political and electoral touch. The growing activity of militant-minded individual depositors, whose losses amount to 3 trillion rubles, including 1 trillion rubles in Moscow, has become especially palpable of late. Nevertheless, Yuriy Luzhkov proposed that a solution to the problem be sought not on the political plane, but rather on the economic and juridical planes: The state, failing to ensure passage of appropriate laws, must be held responsible and compensate depositors' losses.

The bankers' criticism of the Central Bank, which in their view allowed and to some degree triggered the August crisis through its exceedingly tough policies and which is now quite calmly urging preparations for new upheavals, has also acquired a political tinge. Inkombank President Vladimir Vinogradov voiced his fear that, under the circumstances, "the elections will be funded by shadow structures, not banks," with all the ensuing consequences.

The Central Bank management board, however, came out this week with a report to the president on the problems of the banking system, being itself an integral part of it. Calling on the bankers to be gentlemen (hinting at their attitude toward the Central Bank's acting chairperson), Andrey Kozlov suggested that the bankers proceed toward "self-regulation," join the expert council of the Federal Securities Commission, and be more active in bringing forward their own projects for banks' participation in the normalization of the market.

### Soskovets Chairs Review of Electricity Crisis

*MM0410093895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Oct 95 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Sergey Ptichkin: "Does Electricity Generate Prices? Or Vice Premier Soskevets' Disagreement With Power Workers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The events connected with the disconnection of a number of military facilities from fixed power supply systems have caused great public concern. But the problems of power engineering concern not only the Army or the Navy; they are vitally important for every inhabitant of Russia, especially on the eve of what meteorologists forecast will be a severe winter. The other day an expanded conference devoted to preparation for the fall-winter period was held at the YeES [Integrated Energy System] Russian Joint-Stock Company, at which the situation in the country's power industry came under the microscope. And this situation is in many ways alarming.

Lev Tolstoy once said that all people are happy in the same way, but everyone is unhappy in his own way. In today's Russia everything is mixed up, and many classical deductions have lost their original sense. In our country, everyone is happy on an individual basis, but all unhappiness is similar, stemming from poverty and the shortage of vital rubles.

The YeES Russian Joint-Stock Company today owes: 2.3 trillion rubles [R] for coal, R800 billion for fuel oil, and R7.7 trillion for gas, and its total unpaid bills to power workers themselves stand at more than R25 trillion. Because of the absence of reserve funds many heat and electric power stations have been simply unable to purchase any fuel stocks whatsoever; they are operating literally from delivery to delivery, and some of their power units have had to be shut down. Hence the chronic deficit of electricity, despite its potential abundance.

In the opinion of YeES President Anatoliy Dyakov, Russia could quite easily generate 1 trillion kWh [kilowatthours] of electricity, while total requirements are not more than 810 billion kWh. There is reserve capacity. At least, this is potentially the case, but in practice the state's integrated energy network with huge difficulty supports an operating voltage of 50 hertz. In the event of even a minor reduction in voltage, for example, to 49.4 hertz (and this is possible if additional

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consumers switch in to the network, especially in the event of a severe cold spell) the automatic defense mechanism is activated, and, against the will of the operator, the energy system's control panel begins to disconnect consumers, even if those consumers are of strategic importance. Otherwise the destabilization and serious malfunctioning of Russia's entire integrated energy system could not be ruled out — which would threaten a catastrophe of statewide proportions.

The situation in the nuclear power industry today is very difficult. Monetary payments for current generated by nuclear electric power stations according to the figures for the first nine months of the current year fell from 8.8 percent to 0.4 percent of all payments, and even these crumbs arrive chronically late. There are no funds either for the regular payment of wages or even for full technical servicing of nuclear electric power stations. How soon we have forgotten Chernobyl....

Power workers see the main cause of their problems in the discrimination shown against the sector from the very outset by comparison with all other sectors of the national economy. And in some ways this is a just complaint. First, when the liberalization of prices for anything and everything was in full swing, when prices achieved world levels, power was still being supplied at the old, paltry Soviet tariffs. That is to say, power workers entered the market as outsiders, bound hand and foot, against their will, by debts. Second, the charges for electricity supplied in our country are not free; they change spasmodically once a quarter. They do change, but for a number of reasons the new figure is actually introduced no more often than once every four months. In the upshot this hits the pockets of power workers and consumers alike. Everyone is dissatisfied. However, no one intends to change this charge-fixing procedure.

Indeed, just what kind of charge-fixing policy is there! Throughout the world, and in our country before the reforms began, the practice was that the cost of electricity supplied to the population was two to three times its cost to industry. Power workers fail to understand how the chief ideologues and pioneers of the reforms managed to ignore the experience of the world energy sources market and turn everything on its head, and in such a way that today it is almost impossible to alter anything. Nevertheless, the management of the YeES Russian Joint-Stock Company believes that it will be necessary just the same to change the charge-fixing mechanism. The power workers believe that the main burden of electricity payments should fall not on industry but on Joe Public, who will always find the money.

However, this question is still controversial, at least today, and Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, who chaired the conference, recommended that power workers should not insist especially on a hasty U-turn on pricing policy; nor did he accept demands from the power workers to raise the supply price of electricity to world levels.

Oleg Nikolayevich justly noted that there is no world price in this sector, that every state determines its energy policy independently of other states. U.S. policy on this question, for example, differs considerably from that of Norway. It is logical that we too should have our own independent policy. But the Company has not yet determined what this policy should be.

Indeed, the selfish desire to raise the price of their product to global heights no matter what cannot be presented as a strategic policy. Especially since in many regions of Russia, it was revealed, the release price of electricity has not only reached, but significantly overtaken, the world price.

While the cost of electricity in U.S. industry equals 2 cents [unit not stated], in our country, converting this figure at the market ruble exchange rate, the cost in the Far East is 10 cents and in Kamchatka 20 cents. The cost of electricity exceeds the U.S. level even in Moscow. In the words of Oleg Soskovets, the director of a Vladikavkaz enterprise told him that today it is more profitable to buy electricity, with all the transmission costs... from Finland, rather than at home.

The situation is totally absurd also because very few people pay these prices that exceed world limits, although everyone uses electricity. And this leads only to an increased in the product's prime cost and to increased prices for goods and services, and to our impoverishment.

The result is a vicious circle. The tariff of charges increases; no one can afford them, but the cost, purely and simply because of the increase in electricity charges, grows — which again leads to an increase in charges. And still there is no money! Because of the chronic shortage of money a critical situation has arisen in Kamchatka, where there are no fuel supplies for the winter; the situation is the same in the North. Yevgeniy Komarov, head of Murmansk Oblast Administration, stated bluntly that a plan to evacuate inhabitants of a number of remote population centers has already been prepared, since there is no certainty of supplying many of the oblast's northern regions with electricity. Already today — and after all, winter has not yet arrived — the energy stems of Murmansk Oblast and Karelia are working to the utmost limit of their capacity.

All participants in the conference agreed that it is essential to extinguish the state's debts to Russia's power workers as a matter of urgency and that all

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questions of offsetting debts on a mutual basis or writing them off altogether must be resolved immediately. By combining efforts it is still possible to avert a crisis and avert a greater disaster. But this will be possible only in the event that the Ministry of Finance does not remain a bystander to what is happening.

The power workers understand perfectly that it is not the Fatherland's Armed Forces or the military-industrial complex enterprises that bear the burden of debts to the sector, but the Ministry of Finance. Where is the money which was earned and worked for the past? Finance Ministry leaders must give an honest answer: Can it pay up, or not? There must be clarity! Only then can power workers construct their long-term policy. It remains to be hoped that it will respond to the interests of Russia, although....

The first vice premier asked a question, which was not answered: To which foreign companies or private individuals were 20 percent of shares in the YeES Russian Joint-Stock Company sold? Let that be a commercial secret. It was probably under the pressure of circumstances that the company sold the shares. But who will really control Russia's integrated energy network in the near future? The burden of answering to a significant degree lies with the Ministry of Finance.

### Economics Ministry Predicts Slower Industrial Decline

*LD0510111595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1032 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[By Aleksandr Samozhnev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW October 5 (ITAR-TASS) — Industrial decline in Russia in the fourth quarter of 1995 will be about two percent as against 14 percent in 1994, experts of the Russian Economics Ministry predict. They believe that industrial output in 1995 will amount to 98 percent of last year's volume.

The stabilisation of industrial output is accompanied by the growth in areas with high export activity, and not only in raw material sectors, but also in those of half-finished products, according to the data of Economics Ministry received by ITAR-TASS on Thursday.

Meanwhile, decline continues in branches oriented at the domestic market, that are unable to compete with imported goods. For instance, in the nine months of the current year the output of the chemical and petrochemical industry went up by 12 percent, non-ferrous metallurgy — 11 percent, ferrous metallurgy — 2 percent. The output in machine building dropped by 5 percent, in food industry by 9 percent. The biggest decline is characteristic for the light industry. It amounted to 32 percent, the Ministry said.

### Arco Buys Over 200,000 Lukoil Fixed Interest Bonds

*LD0410184495 Moscow ECONOMIC NEWS AGENCY in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] An AEN correspondent has been informed in the Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering of the Russian Federation that Arco has acquired 241,080 Lukoil fixed interest bonds at a total cost of $250 million. In accordance with the terms of the loan, after 5 April 1996 the bonds may be exchanged for a package of 6.3 percent of all Lukoil voting shares.

### Country 'Cannot Do Without' Grain Imports

*MM0510114495 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Oct 95 p 3*

[Article by Artem Lysenko under the rubric "Grain Market Roundup": "Grain Maneuvers Along the 'Currency Corridor'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Practically all of the grain has now been harvested from the fields. The reserves gathered throughout Russia can be realistically assessed today. The precise figure will only be known at the end of November or in December, when the grain will be distributed throughout the elevators, taken stock of, and graded, but it is already clear that the harvest really has turned out to be low. Whereas even two months ago Russian Government Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha was predicting a harvest at last year's level (which was unproductive to a record level, incidentally), that is 81 million tonnes, today we are only talking about 66-67 million tonnes.

What kind of outcome does this threaten? As we know, a normally operating market mechanism rules out the possibility of shortages. If there is far less output than is required, then its price soars. It appears that it has only been this year that this mechanism has really started working on the grain market. In any case, you can find grain today for good money (approximately 800,000 rubles [R] per tonne). In fact, in September more grain was being offered for sale than the procurers were prepared to buy. This explains the rare and strange stability of the market last month: Prices in September, which is usually the most difficult and erratic month, stayed at more or less one level. The majority of specialists attribute this primarily to the fact that peasants cannot release their output more cheaply, otherwise they will not recoup their expenditure, and many milling combines, mixed-feed plants, and other consumers do not have enough money to buy the

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necessary quantity of grain and at least half-fill their capacities. It works out that prices neither rise nor fall. Particularly since in September the grain market has become dependent in its peculiar fashion on the "currency band."

The point is that the stability of the dollar rate against the backdrop of the overall rise in the price of grain has made the prices of home producers and European farmers practically equal. If the Russian peasants continue to raise prices, then it will become preferable to import grain from abroad. Given the obvious commercial advantage, even the "Roskhleboprodukt" federal corporation, which represents the state's interests on the market, is prepared, according to its vice president, Yevgeniy Tyurin, to reorient itself on the Western market, buy all the grain it needs abroad, and ignore the Russian peasants. You can hardly suppose that they will allow this to happen. The peasants can scarcely "break out" of the "currency band." It is more probable that they will make some concessions but nevertheless keep the price of their output at the world price level.

Nevertheless, Russia evidently cannot do without making some purchases abroad. "Everyone knows Lomonosov's law of the conservation of matter," "Roskhleboprodukt" Vice President Yevgeniy Tyurin says. "However much is taken away from one body is added to another." So that if Russia has to make up a shortage of grain, then this can be done precisely through imports." It is another matter that it is not necessarily the state that will make all of these purchases. Commercial structures are now strong enough to be able to bring in a certain quantity of grain independently and earn good money from doing so. Experts from the "OGO" firm, for example, claim that if you have a good knowledge of the conditions of the Western market it is possible to bring grain in right now. Admittedly, this advantage is not so great at the moment as with transactions involving Russian grain. But later, in mid-winter or early spring, when the corn bins are empty, the advantage will become more obvious.

Grain, which has always been seen as an object of politicians' rapt attention, will acquire special significance on the eve of the elections. The authorities will evidently do all they can to nevertheless find the money for the necessary purchases and assure Russians that the country will be provided with grain. This is a question for the next two months. After all, the problem of state purchases of grain is certainly not settled yet. For example, the "Roskhleboprodukt" federal corporation has bought only 102,000 tonnes to provide for the needs of the Army, the Extreme North, and partially Moscow and other major cities. This is only one-tenth of what is needed for normal supplies. Not a single ruble has been allocated for this at the moment. Credits from commercial banks are the most realistic source of money in this situation. "Menatep," "Promstroybank," and several other major banks have long expressed their readiness to get involved in this kind of commercial transaction. A sum is even being specified. In total the banks are prepared to allocate around R4 trillion for buying grain. Approximately half of the necessary quantity can be bought with this sum, and the grain problem can be considered solved for several months.

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## International Affairs

### Kuchma Urges NATO To Heed Russia's Views

*LD0410132295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1146 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV October 4 (Itar-Tass) - Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma called on NATO to consider Russian opinion of its expansion plans, but stressed that each country has the right to decide itself whether to join the alliance or not.

"The admission of that or another state into NATO cannot be discussed without taking into consideration the Russian position. This is a historic reality", he told a press conference Wednesday.

However, "each state has the right to decide itself on its participation in any international organisation or military bloc", he added.

Speaking on Ukraine's position regarding the joining of NATO, Kuchma said that his country "wants to be a non-bloc state in future", but admitted that "this will become more difficult with time".

"It is important to proceed from your national interests", he stressed.

### Moroz Against NATO Involvement in B-H Conflict

*LD0410201295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Oct 4 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukrainian Parliamentary Chairman Oleksandr Moroz spoke against NATO involvement in a conflict settlement, even under the U.N. mandate, at his meeting with Yugoslav Ambassador to Ukraine Gojko Dapcevic in Kiev Wednesday.

Moroz said peacekeeping operations should involve military units of individual states rather than those of military and political alliances.

Ukraine is against the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, he added. The Balkan crisis should be solved in a political rather than economic fashion. "The sanctions affect absolutely innocent civilians and states," he concluded.

Ukrainian experts estimate the republic's losses from the sanctions at about $4 billion.

For his part, Dapcevic highly praised Ukraine's efforts and consistent support of his country. He asked the Ukrainian leadership to promote lifting the economic sanctions in every way possible.

Moroz reiterated President Kuchma's initiative to hold a summit of all conflicting sides in Kiev, saying "Ukraine is ready to organize it at any moment."

### Kiev Has 'No Intention' of Signing CIS Military Documents

*WS0510095795 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0905 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the press service of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine is not taking part in the system of CIS collective security and therefore has no intention of signing drafts of agreements and documents in the area of military activities considered in Moscow on October 3 [at the session of the councils of CIS Foreign Ministers, Defense Ministers and Border Troops commanders]. At that meeting Ukrainian representatives pointed out that it was not possible to discuss a common border for the CIS and proposed that the CIS Council of Ministers consider its draft of an agreement on cooperation in border territories. In contrast with the proposal to establish common CIS borders this draft provides for a legal agreement which would determine concrete borders between countries within the CIS. After heated debates this proposal was accepted as the basis for a future agreement.

Another Ukrainian initiative dealt with encouraging the return of deported ethnic groups to their homelands within the CIS. Ukraine's position is that not one agreement be signed by all CIS countries but that each country sign bilateral agreements with other CIS countries which would take into account all aspects of each concrete instance of such deportations. The Ukrainian delegation with the support of the Azerbaijani delegation and certain other countries succeeded in having agreements which relate to the joint participation of CIS countries in international organizations re- worked and reconsidered at a later date.

### Crimean Parliament Asks For CIS Aid in Repatriation Program

*LD0510091395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SIMFEROPOL, Oct 4 (Interfax-Ukraine) - The Crimean Supreme Soviet addressed CIS legislatures and heads of state Wednesday asking them to aid a program for the repatriation of deported peoples to Crimea.

The address pointed out "the extremely difficult socioeconomic conditions impeding the repatriation and ac-

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commodation of Crimean Tatars, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Germans deported from Crimea in 1941 through 1944."

"We are confident that CIS states' combined efforts in surmounting the after-effects of crimes of the totalitarian regime committed in 1941 through 1944 on Crimean land will both help ease the situation of hundreds of thousands of people affected by the repressions and promote the development and strengthening friendly ties between the peoples of CIS states," according to the document.

The Crimean parliament hoped that CIS heads of state will consider the request at their next summit.

About 250,000 Crimean Tatars, deported to Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Russia, have returned to the peninsula. Another 150,000 are expected to come back in the future. Only Ukraine is financing the repatriation at present.

### Kuchma Receives al-Qadhdhafi's Special Representative

*LD0410140395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1201 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV October 4 (Itar-Tass) — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has received al-'Ubaydi, Libyan deputy foreign minister and a special representative of leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Al-'Ubaydi handed to the Ukrainian president a letter from the Libyan leader, in which he expressed readiness to bring cooperation with Ukraine to a higher level and to expand considerably bilateral cooperation between the two countries, specifically, in the sphere of transport, energy generation, public health and culture.

In his turn, President Kuchma reiterated Ukraine's readiness to develop mutually advantageous relations with Libya, taking into consideration the interests of both countries, as well as all corresponding resolutions of international organisations.

## National Affairs

### Kuchma Comments on Domestic, Foreign Policy

*LD0410214995 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1710 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] As we reported earlier, on 4 October President Leonid Kuchma held a briefing for Ukrainian and foreign journalists at the presidential administration. The president introduced Dmytro Markov, the new head of his press service and answered reporters' questions.

[Begin recording] [Martynenko, Interfax-Ukraine news agency] Leonid Danylovych, I would like to ask you about your forthcoming major trip to the United States for the UN General Assembly session. As we know, you will hold many meetings with your counterparts, including CIS presidents. Whom specifically have you arranged to meet, and what problems do you plan to address in your speech to the General Assembly?

[Kuchma] Our delegation's responsibility at the session is [word indistinct], and fate has it that the Ukrainian president will be addressing the UN session for the second time. I do not want to specify today the issues I will be raising, because, as you know I will only have six or seven minutes to do so. But I would like to point out to the world community that the attitude to the Third World, so to speak, and particularly to the post-Communist countries, should be totally different. Unfortunately, in my opinion, most countries today prefer to wait and see how this or that event will develop, and only when this or that problem cannot be cured without surgery does the world community take an appropriate decision. I strongly believe that treatment should be administered soon after the diagnosis, when the patient is not yet too far gone, instead of waiting for a miracle. Similarly, when I look back on the past three-four years, I see that all the time we were subjected to examination, faced with conditions, although much of it was through our own fault.

They expect political stability, or a stable legislative framework, or something else of this kind, before they invest. What political stability, may I ask, can you speak of in a country like ours, which has not even clearly formulated its national idea, while the economic situation deteriorates with every passing day? All this has to be carefully considered, and we need to look for solutions and instruments. The developments in the former Soviet Union, as well as Yugoslavia, prove this point. It costs us much dearer when decisions are taken after the conflict develops.

As for the meetings, many are planned, and many are proposed. It is interesting that even the biggest financial and industrial groups in the United States are inviting us to meet again and discuss investments in Ukraine. The world is turning its face toward us. Say what you wish, but this is a fact, and it proves that developments in Ukraine are following a positive course. We all would like this process to be much quicker, because our people, indeed, have little strength left to endure all this, especially pensioners and similar categories.

[Correspondent [name indistinct] in Russian with superimposed Ukrainian translation] Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk's address at the all-Ukrainian con-

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ference of economists had a big reaction and delegates asked for his speech to be published. We have not seen it in the press. My second question is this. Do you and your administration believe that the autumn upsurge in political activity among the general public, such as the miners' strike, the unions' strike on 19 October, and the united action day to be staged at the decision of the council of the Union of Workers on 25 October, is in fact a protest against the advance of capitalism? How will the administration deal with that in its future political work?

[Kuchma] With regard to the first question, I did not think it was a good idea to publish the president's and the prime minister's speeches, but the situation today requires us to do it, for many reasons, especially from the economic point of view. Many speeches published in the central press do not reach the regions, so we will rectify that. Especially considering that, I am told, [Supreme Council Speaker] Oleksandr Oleksandrovych Moroz has already published three books of his speeches, so we will not be the first.

As for the autumn upsurge, I see several things here. A serious opposition has emerged in Ukraine, represented by the left forces, primarily the communists and the socialists. It emerged after the second parliamentary election when the communists, socialists, and other left-wing movements got the opportunity to speak from the parliamentary podium. You realize that a year ago they would not have been heard.

They are communists of a different kind, I can say that without going into detail. They have support within society. But the support given to them by such categories as pensioners and the like does not mean support for the communist ideas. It is more of a protest against the authorities, against the economic situation they are in. There is nothing we can do about it, we just have to reckon with that and seek every opportunity to help people, mainly by explaining the president's position, and this is why we are setting up a new press service. We have virtually surrendered the information realm to the left. Whatever is being done in the government and at the president's office is conveyed better through the eyes of certain publications.

These forces do realize in fact, that with time they will have fewer and fewer opportunities. I am sure that in a year's time their support will be much narrower. Another factor is our neighbor [Russia], awaiting major events, I mean the Duma elections and the presidential elections. Political activity there is growing and our left forces are also looking forward to a left victory over there to boost their standing.

As regards the advance of capitalism and whether people are against it, I will tell you this. I attended the launch of a battery-manufacturing plant in Dnepropetrovsk, with the most advanced technology to date. It was built (together with the Germans). It is not a state enterprise. Ask any employee there where he wants to work. I will say again that the important issue is not who owns this or that enterprise but how it works, what results it yields, and how, through taxation, it can cooperate with the state. But if it has no owner, nothing will ever come of it. We had the opportunity to observe the entire history of the Soviet Union and its development. We survived only thanks to the enormous material resources that were available, primarily in Russia. Had we not had this, you can imagine the state we would be in.

It is true that many mistakes are being made during the course of privatization and other things, we know about that. Clearly it will take more than one year. We feel it every day. We also feel our lack of understanding with the Supreme Council and the enormous economic losses it incurs. What, may I ask, did the state gain yesterday from the parliament's veto of the presidential edict on a stabilization fund in the fuel and energy sector? That was the Supreme Council's decision. But it delayed the process, and this delay causes economic losses every day. We still have no law on value added tax, and it costs us 10 trillion karbovantsy each month in losses. The president has to take decisions and issue edicts, both by the old constitution and the constitutional treaty, in order to regulate issues that are not regulated by active legislation. So what they did was sheer political intrigue. Let us hope that the next parliament will be a structured one, with a majority accountable to the public for the decisions made or not made.

Today, the Supreme Council is accountable to no one. It keeps leaning from left to right, from right to left, with a center drifting one way or the other depending on the outside temperature. [passage indistinct]

Ukraine's position is well-known, and we are not about to change it. I think you will agree that it is a matter of considerable time. If anyone tells me now that somebody will be admitted next year, I will doubt that very much. I do not think it will happen. At the same time, my opinion is that no country has the right to veto another country's entry to this or another alliance. I also think such a decision cannot be taken without taking into consideration Russia's view. It is a historical reality.

As regards the future development of Ukraine's non-aligned status, Ukraine only wishes to achieve this status in the future and we should move in that direction. We will see how the world develops and also, whether understanding will be achieved between NATO and Rus-

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sia. Mainly, Ukraine has to proceed from its national interests, although we do have to maneuver more and more these days. That is all, thank you for your attention. [end recording]

**Commander Views Situation in Fleet Division**

*AU0410132295 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 26 Sep 95 p 1*

["Topical" interview with Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, commander of the Ukrainian Navy, by ZA VILNU UKRAYINU correspondent Mariya Bazelyuk in Sevastopol; date not given: "When Will the 'Lviv' Sail Into the Open Sea?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bazelyuk] Admiral, are the Naval Forces ready to defend Ukraine's southern sea borders?

[Bezkorovaynyy] Today, Ukraine's Naval Forces are just being built, and for that reason, they are, so far, only capable of solving individual tasks that might face them in the case of war. To ensure reliable defense of our state's sea borders, it is first necessary to build the fleet, build and start using ships, train crews, and provide corresponding weapons.

[Bazelyuk] And the fleet is being built?

[Bezkorovaynyy] Yes, it is. Through the efforts of the entire state. You are probably familiar with the well-known Ukrainian presidential edict that provides for every oblast to assist in building a specific ship. Incidentally, on the stocks in Feodosiya [in the Crimea], is the ship "Lviv," and we would like the city of Lvov, which is known to be seriously concerned about the building of the Ukrainian Fleet, to remember this. So that the authorities in Lvov and Lvov Oblast would think about this ship, come to Feodosiya, and see how building is progressing. Maybe they will choose to become patrons, as do most oblasts.

[Bazelyuk] Could you possibly quote examples of fruitful cooperation?

[Bezkorovaynyy] There are examples that may be referred to as classical assistance. In particular, our capital. Kiev Mayor [Leonid] Kosakivskyy has already visited navy units four times. He, his deputies, and chairmen of rayon executive committees studied the situation on the spot, determined the scope of work, and started helping us with concrete action. This is not an isolated example. Unfortunately, Lvov is not such a case. Our representatives make trips to Lvov almost every month, but this produces no practical results, even though we hoped at the beginning that Lvov would not just declare its support, but would also help us with actual deeds. I would, therefore, like to remind the leadership of Lvov and Lvov Oblast about their commitments as patrons regarding the "Lviv" ship.

[Bazelyuk] It is very distressing to hear complaints about Lvov Oblast's passivity in building the Ukrainian Fleet. I believe that the situation will soon change for the better, and we will not feel guilty for Lvov's lagging behind in such a matter of state significance. What will our fleet be like in the future?

[Bezkorovaynyy] The number of ships that Ukraine's Navy needs is prompted by the fact that we are a peaceful state and our task is only to defend our territory in the case of aggression against Ukraine. Therefore, we need a numerically small fleet with small displacement tonnage, but one capable of guarding our state. We also have tasks in the ocean. They amount to defending fishing and sea-faring, in other words, our state's economic activity; for this, medium-class ships will be built. We are presently very concerned about the situation with financing the shipbuilding we began in the times of the USSR. We are counting on the sponsorship of oblasts; their names were even given to ships: "Lviv," "Lutsk," "Ternopil," "Zaporizka Sich, "Luhansk," and others.

[Bazelyuk] You are a member of the commission of experts for the division of the Black Sea Fleet. What can you say about the course of the negotiating process?

[Bezkorovaynyy] As is known, our approach to the division of the Black Sea Fleet was based upon our needs. The point is that the Black Sea Fleet is very large. It was built with a view to conducting warfare against the United States and NATO in the Iberian zone, in the Central Atlantic area, in the Indian Ocean, and in the Persian Gulf. Ukraine does not have such tasks, and we agreed to 20 percent of the Black Sea Fleet ships. Even though lists for dividing the ships have been prepared at the level of experts, this issue may only be considered as fully settled after the Black Sea Fleet hands these ships over to us. We will accept them only in good technical condition.

As regards the infrastructure, we cannot picture a situation with Russian bases located along the entire stretch of Ukraine's southern shore. That is why it has already been said at all political levels that, even if a Russian base is present here, it must only be of local significance, limited to a specific territory, and situated at a single site. If the main base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet is stationed in Sevastopol, the Ukrainian fleet will also be stationed here. It is our state, and we will control the situation in it.

[Bazelyuk] You probably know about the state of the ships that are to be handed over to Ukraine?

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[Bezkorovaynyy] The technical condition of the Black Sea Fleet is generally very bad, because the fleet has not been repaired for several years. Not only are the ships that are to be handed over to Ukraine not serviced and not repaired, but they have also received ruthless and barbaric treatment. We have already warned the Russian side that this may have bad consequences, because Ukraine has the right to turn down damaged ships and demand that it be given ones that are in a normal state. I reported on the unsatisfactory technical state of the ships at meetings of the commission of experts and insisted that an inventory be conducted before the lists for dividing the ships are signed. We cannot agree to just 20 percent of the Black Sea Fleet ships if these are also damaged.

[Bazelyuk] There is also the issue of the time limits for the lease. If foreign troops remain on Ukrainian territory for a long time, this will indicate that our state does not have full control over its own territory, and this, in turn, will do harm to Ukraine's prestige in the world. It will not be reckoned with as it should, and foreign investments will skip coastal regions. What is your forecast regarding the time limits for the lease of our territory to the Russian Fleet bases.

[Bezkorovaynyy] This is a political question. I believe that it will be settled to the advantage of Ukraine and its national interests. We have lately had a feeling that we are being treated better and that Ukraine needs us. The president visited us and inspired in us a hope that the Ukrainian fleet will be based in Sevastopol. I think that everything will be all right with us. Even though the situation in the state is difficult, this will not last forever. For a couple of years now we have heard prophesies that we will not survive, but here we are!

**Crimean Official on Constitution, Situation**

*WS0410124695 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 3*

[Interview with Crimean Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Anushavan Danelyan, by Volodymyr Kolychev; place and date not given: "Passion Over the Crimean Constitution Seems To Erupt in Kiev"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **I will specify at the beginning: We do not observe extraordinary speculations in Crimea surrounding the new constitution since its text almost copies the version of 25 September 1992 (only the section concerning the Crimean president is excluded). Passions will erupt in the Ukrainian Supreme Council, where the Crimean basic law will be submitted for coordination. Certainly deputies would not like the following tenet: "The Republic of Crimea is included in Ukraine's state and builds its relations with Ukraine on the basis of mutually coordinated regulations and agreements." Neither are they going to like another section which envisages that "citizens of the Republic of Crimea have the right to dual citizenship, which can be acquired in accordance with Ukrainian laws and interstate agreements." In addition, Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman Suprynyuk said, in a speech delivered in parliament, that "a principal agreement has been reached at a higher level on dual subordination of [Crimean] power agencies." Crimean people's deputies passed the Crimean constitution in the first reading. We met Anushavan Danelyan, Crimean Supreme Soviet deputy chairman, after the session ended. He answered several questions.**

[Kolychev] Mr. Danelyan, many people maintain that the Ukrainian Supreme Council will certainly block the current draft of the Crimean constitution. Do you not think that it would be useful to soften it a bit and make it more suitable for passing?

[Danelyan] As for the Ukrainian Supreme Council, it seems that it will be very difficult to unite all the political groups and factions which exist there. I believe that some of the lawmakers will be fully satisfied with our constitution; some of them will find it necessary to change it a bit, while others will insist on abolishing the autonomous status as such. I think that we all need to proceed from common sense when approaching this issue. There is talk that we overstep our authority. However, that authority is stipulated by the Ukrainian law "On the Division of Authority Between State Bodies of Power of Ukraine and the Crimean Republic." I believe that claims to the effect that this law has never been applied are groundless, otherwise the process of its abolishment would not have been launched. However, this law stipulates, among other things, that the Crimean Republic's authority cannot be changed without the Crimean Supreme Soviet's consent. The final conclusion is: The Ukrainian Supreme Council's resolution refers to the fact that we should draft the Crimean constitution proceeding from the law on the division of authority. We did so and we did not exceed our authority.

[Kolychev] What about dual citizenship?

[Danelyan] This section was coordinated some time ago with the Ukrainian Supreme Council's delegation which arrived in the Republic to learn the political-legal situation. The point is that Crimean Republic's citizenship is an internal citizenship.

[Kolychev] What is the situation of the power ministries?

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[Danelyan] Formerly, the Crimean minister of internal affairs and the minister of justice were appointed at the Crimean Supreme Soviet session. Candidacies were coordinated with corresponding ministries in Kiev. The confrontational policy pursued by the former leadership of the Crimean Supreme Soviet led to the situation in which many of the agreements were abolished, whereas the government was directly subordinated to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. However, currently the situation in the region has changed. The present Crimean Supreme Soviet leadership is not going to undertake measures unilaterally. As for the power ministries, we have negotiated this issue with the Ukrainian Supreme Council and Ukraine's president.

They acknowledge that any autonomy should have power agencies. It is not a normal situation when, for instance, the chief of Simferopol's police is nominated, but the city's mayor does not know about it. A similar situation exists in the regions. Can you imagine the situation in which local police officers work independently from local councils? This leads to a loss of control over the affairs in the Republic. You certainly know about it. I personally think that power agencies with dual subordination have the right to exist in Crimea.

[Kolychev] As we know, the Crimean leadership's report before the Crimean Supreme Soviet was postponed until October. Some observers are convinced that clouds have gathered above the head of current Prime Minister Franchuk and that it seems, so to speak, he will be sent for a well-deserved rest.

[Danelyan] We have normal relations with the government. They were normal even before the issuance of the well-known Ukrainian president's edict subordinating the Crimean Government to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers. Currently, there are no essential disagreements between us. I am surprised by the fact that the government report on Crimea always has a political tinge added to it. After all, there is a corresponding law which reads in black and white that the government is obliged annually to deliver a report on its activities. After all, we have to approve at least the budget for the following year.

[Kolychev] In August Kiev took away from the Crimean parliament the state dachas Nos. 5 and No. 7 and the fashionable "Yuzhnyy" [Southern] sanatorium.

[Danelyan] I have no idea why Kiev did that. We have begun a civilized division of property, including health resort facilities. Property should not be transferred with the stroke of a pen of some bureaucrat, since Ukrainian law exists. We are looking for foreign investors, but they will not come to us. They do not have guarantees that their sanatoriums will not be sold tomorrow and placed, for instance, under the Ukrainian Supreme Council's jurisdiction. There is also the political side of the issue. A new leadership has appeared in the Crimean parliament, and a normal mutual relationship has begun to develop between Kiev and Simferopol. Does Kiev not understand that this situation is not pleasant for us, too? There is the opposition which is waiting for our blunders in order to accuse us of venality. I would like to point out that the Ukrainian president, the Supreme Council chairman, and the prime minister disapprove of the activities of certain Kiev bureaucrats. The recent resubordination of the "Yuzhnyy" sanatorium is a most hasty step undertaken by Ukraine in relations with Crimea.

[Kolychev] Mr. Danelyan, new factions have been formed in the Crimean Supreme Soviet. Do they not paralyze the parliament's work?

[Danelyan] A reshuffle of forces is under way in the parliament, but it has no impact on the overall development of events.

[Kolychev] As far as I know, you are the chairman of the Supreme Soviet committee for preparing the national economy for winter. What awaits the Crimean people this winter?

[Danelyan] The process of winter corn sowing is going very sluggishly. Gas is being delivered to underground storage facilities according to the 1994 schedule. The issue of coal has also been resolved, though I believe that to pay 14 million karbovantsi [K] for one tonne of coal is cruel with regard to socially insecure groups. However, the situation in the electrical energy sector is more complicated than anything else. I recently saw in Kiev a plan for energy supply envisaged for all oblasts. With the exception of Crimea, the increase in energy supply is noticeable everywhere. We have been frozen at the figure of 625 megawatts; meanwhile, the peninsula's minimum demand is 800-850 megawatts. We were told that energy supply will be lowered to 500- 400 megawatts for the winter. I am afraid that this amount of energy will only be enough for preschools, hospitals, and schools. We owe our electrical energy sector around K7 trillion. There are no electric power stations in Crimea; therefore, this issue has to be resolved at the level of official Kiev.

## Economic Issues

### Nuclear Plants Stocked With Fuel for Winter

*LD0410185495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1610 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukraine's nuclear power plants are almost fully stocked with nuclear fuel

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for the winter season, the State Committee for the Use of Nuclear Power told UNIAN.

The exception is a power unit at the Rovno atomic energy station [AES], which does not have enough fuel to last through the winter, and the Chernobyl AES, where the supplies will only last until mid-January.

Still, according to the state committee, there is no danger that the plants will halt in winter because of fuel shortages.

**Kiev Plant To Launch Production of TU-334 Aircraft**

*WS0310114195 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 0915 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[From the "Business News Weekly" feature No. 39, 25 September-1 October 1995]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Kiev Aviation Works expects to start serial production (30 planes per year) of TU-334 passenger planes in 1997. At present, its technological lines are ready to assemble the plane's fuselage. Two experimental prototypes of the plane have been constructed by the works, and a third is said to be nearing completion for static trials by Russia's Aerohydrodynamics Institute in October. A fourth (flying) prototype is expected to become operational by next summer.

Russia's "Aviakor" plant in Samara is also expected to start serial production of TU-334s. The Kiev works and "Aviakor" plan to exchange components for TU-334s with fuselage and wings made in Kiev and tails, fins, motogondolas and interior facilities made in Samara.

The TU-334 will be certified in Moscow in late 1996 or early 1997. The plane was developed by Russia's Tupolev Aviation R&D Complex, on the modes of the presently operational TU-134. The plane is designed to carry 102 passengers for distances up to 3,000 km. at speeds up to 820 kph.

The plane's D-436 engine will be made by the "Motor-Sich". The D- 436 engine's fuel consumption averages 23.5 grams per passenger per km.

The TU 334's tentative price is estimated at 16 million dollars. TU-334s are expected to replace Yak-42s (Ukraine has 26 Yak-42s). Russian airline companies are said to have approached the manufacturers with tentative orders for 28 TU-334s, of which 15 planes are expected to be purchased by the Tyumenaviatrans company, 10 planes by Moscow Airlines, and three by the Tataravia company.

Designers and builders of the TU-334 are hoping for tariff and taxation franchises from their governments through the institution of a mixed financial-industrial group.

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## Belarus

### BELAPAN Says Commission Clears Military on Balloon Affair

*WS0510085995 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0755 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In the near future the President of Belarus Alyaksandr Lukashenka is expected to make a statement on the official investigation into the accident which took place on September 12 and resulted in the death of two American balloonists. According to reliable sources, the state investigatory commission has submitted the preliminary results of the investigation to the President. In particular, the commission has drawn the conclusion that the Belarusian military acted in strict accordance with instructions given in the case of such an event. The members of the state commission still refuse to give any commentaries, as they are waiting for an official reaction from the President.

### Hryb Opposes Political Integration With Russia

*WS0510102995 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0755 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Commenting on yesterday's statement by Russia's Council of Federation about the necessity of conducting a nationwide referendum in the Russian Federation on the intensification of political and economic integration with Belarus, the speaker of the Belarusian parliament, Mr. Myacheslaw Hryb, stressed that this was an internal affair for each state. "I hold that such referendums should not infringe upon the Constitution and the interests of neighbouring countries." Myacheslaw Hryb pointed out that the statement by the upper chamber of the Russian parliament may be regarded in two ways — one concerning economic and one concerning political integration. On the one hand economic integration is backed by the population of Belarus, an indication of which are the results of the May referendum. "As for political integration, I do not understand what they are talking about. Who should join who, should Belarus join Russia or Russia join Belarus? This runs counter to our Constitution. It was put down there that Belarus should be a sovereign independent state." The Supreme Soviet Chairman reiterated that the referendum law prohibits the resolution of such issues by referendum. In conclusion Mr. Hryb stressed again that when submitting any issue to a referendum each state should ensure that the wording of the issue will not infringe upon the lawful interests of its neighbours.

### No Money To Support Foreign Observers for Nov Elections

*WS0310151695 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 1*

[Report by Yuras Dubina: "Central Electoral Commission Has No Financial Resources To Receive Foreign Observers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The Central Electoral Commission [CEC], complying with a request from Supreme Soviet Chairman M. Hryb, has sent — through the Belarusian Foreign Ministry — invitations to a number of international organization to take part as observers in the repeat elections of deputies to the Belarusian Supreme Soviet.**

In particular, invitations were sent to observers from the [Council of Europe] Parliamentary Assembly, the [CIS] Interparliamentary Assembly, the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and other international organizations. According to BELAPAN, in the letter sent through the Foreign Ministry, the CEC informs that all expenses as well as costs of material and technical sustenance should be covered by the incoming party, because the CEC simply has no money for this. At the same time, the CEC pledges to grant necessary accreditation to all observers.

According to CEC Chairman Alyaksandr Abramovich, the CEC considers the presence of foreign observers at the repeat elections as "a guarantee of greater legitimacy for the elections."

## Moldova

### PRCM Wants Deputy Speaker Diacov To Apologize

*AU0510083795 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, October 3 (INFOTAG) — The Executive Committee of the Party of Revival and Accord (PRCM) has demanded an apology from Deputy Speaker Dumitru Diacov for his having insulted President Snegur and the party he heads, the PRCM. In its today's press release, the Committee reminds that during the yesterday's live telecast over the National Television Dumitru Diacov has read out the message which he delivered last week to Mr. Miguel Angel Martinez, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The message was signed by Moldovan Parliament Chairman Petru Lucinschi. "A TV viewer asked if really the PRCM is seeking to expand president's plenary powers and establish a bicameral parliament, and the president will be appointing

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senators from among leaders of areal power bodies, on which Mr. Diacov has replied that the PRCM programme reads exactly so," the statement reviews. The PRCM expressed surprise that "Diacov failed to find time enough to study the programme of the party which stands up for bettering the legislative power through establishing a bicameral Parliament consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (i.e. a chamber of representatives — elected chairpersons of areal executive committees, and city and town mayors). This thesis acquires a particular significance in a constitutional democracy at which laws, elaborated by population-elected representatives, must express the will of the majority and respect the rights of minorities and the interests of territories." The PRCM expressed hope that Mr. Diacov "will find courage to admit his own gross mistake, as one made by a high-ranked representative of the Parliament, and will offer an apology for his having inflicted a damage to the image of the head of state in the Council of Europe, as well as later on in the media."

**Gagauz Parliament Examines Law on Languages**

*AU0510091695 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Comrat 03/10/1994 (BASA-press) — The Gagauzian People's Assembly discussed the draft law on languages' functioning on the territory of Gagauz-Yeri. The project refers to the Moldovan (Romanian), Gagauzian and Russian languages and the possibility to use the Bulgarian, Ukrainian and other languages. Ion Bejan, vice chairman of People's Assembly, told BASA that the law was drafted according to the Moldovan Constitution, laws on the special juridical status of Gagauz-Yeri and languages' functioning on Moldova's territory. "This draft law reflects the historical reality and traditions of Gagauzian and other national minorities," Bejan said. Leonid Decev, leader of the People's Gagauzian Party (PPG), which is in opposition to the current administration, told BASA this project discriminates "the Gagauzian language." He said that "it has to make its contribution to the development of the Gagauzian language. Instead it gives advantage to the Russian," Decev stated, stressing that the PPG is drafting its own variant. The first item of this document stipulates "the utilization of the Moldovan (Romanian) language in all the spheres of political, economical, social and cultural life," it "having the function of communicative language among other nationalities on Gagauzian territory. All the inhabitants of the autonomy are guaranteed to study the Moldovan (Romanian) language, which is necessary for the linguistic and spiritual integration with the majority population," the project states. The second item states that "like in Moldovan (Romanian), the geographical names are written in Gagauzian and Russian, the official languages of Gagauz-Yeri." The next article guarantees the utilization of Bulgarian, Ukrainian and other languages on the Gagauzian territory for actions of national and cultural spheres. As for the official documents, Moldovan (Romanian), Gagauzian or Russian will be used. "The citizens of other nationalities have the right to study in their mother tongue." The law regarding the languages' functioning is to be adopted by the end of October.

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## Kazakhstan

### Caspian States Reject Moscow's Joint Control Concept

*MK0510091095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Sep 95 p 3*

[Report by Leonid Velekhov: "The Caspian Conference Has Passed Without Russia's Participation. Caspian States Do Not Want To Consider the Sea a Lake"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday a two-day conference of Caspian Foreign Ministry representatives, devoted to defining the Caspian's legal status, ended in Alma-Ata [Almaty]. It will be recalled that in July, at an international scientific and practical conference, also in Alma-Ata, representatives of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Iran, Russia, and Turkmenia [Turkmenistan] agreed to create a permanent negotiating mechanism for the elaboration of its legal status. Foreign Ministry legal department chiefs from all Caspian states except Russia gathered for the latest conference. Russia's absence was not explained in any way; the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's legal department advised your SEGODNYA correspondent that Russia did not take part in the conference owing to the heavy workload of the legal department director. You can only indulge in guesswork as to whether there is an element of a demarche in Russia's absence from Alma-Ata. As is known, in August Russia presented a draft agreement on the Caspian's legal status, which was not supported by the Caspian states.

The conflict between Russia and the other Caspian states is that the Russian Federation proposes that the Caspian be deemed a lake, while the others insist on its being a landlocked sea. Status as a lake presupposes joint possession of the Caspian, its shelf, mineral resources, and so forth, while the status of a sea, under the UN Convention on Maritime Law, signed in 1982 in Montego Bay, enshrines the sovereign rights of each littoral state to its own "economic zone:" part of its mineral resources, shelf, territorial waters, and so forth. The discussion took on special relevance after September 1994, when Azerbaijan signed a contract with large Western consortiums to develop oil deposits on the Caspian shelf, while the Russian Foreign Ministry sought to disavow the contract, saying that the deposits are the common property of all Caspian states. And although after that Russian diplomats were "corrected" by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and stopped challenging the contract's validity, the discussion about the Caspian's legal status continues.

The two-day conference in Alma-Ata did not produce a final draft document. It discussed an amended draft, presented by Kazakhstan, which envisions the demarcation of territorial waters, the creation of fishing zones under national jurisdictions, the delimitation of underground sectors, and the definition of the open water space, where each Caspian country should have equal rights. According to Kazakhstan Deputy Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Gizzatov, cited by INTERFAX, new negotiations and consultations are needed to finalize the Caspian's status. However, all participants in the conference agreed to reject the Russian idea for a joint control of the Caspian because, in Gizzatov's expression, "joint means nobody's, and world practice does not know of such experience."

### Gizzatov on Joint Use of Caspian Resources

*LD0410184995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Oct 4 (PIA - Interfax) — The Russian concept for joint use of Caspian sea resources by all the coastal states would mean Caspian states refusing their sovereign rights over development of the major part of the Caspian seabed adjoining their territories, Deputy Kazakh Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Gizzatov told the third international conference "Oil and Gas'95" underway in Almaty.

In his opinion, the Russian initiative to form an international committee of representatives of the five coastal states (Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Iran) with the right to issue licenses for prospecting and exploitation of the Caspian seabed would hamper attraction of foreign investments in development of Caspian deposits. Gizzatov said that foreign investors are not interested in negotiations with five Caspian states, each of which would have the right to veto issuance of a license under the Russian variant of the Caspian sea status.

According to the Deputy Minister, the concept of joint control over the development of sea resources cannot establish ownership of oil fields being developed.

Kazakhstan proposes its concept based on the UN Maritime Convention of 1982, said Gizzatov. Kazakhstan thinks that every coastal state should have territorial waters in its full sovereignty. The width of these zones should be fixed througl. coordination of the five coastal states but not exceed 12 nautical miles. The waters outside territorial waters and fishing zones will be jointly used by all Caspian nations. Each coastal state should have the exclusive right to prospect, exploit and develop the seabed, its mineral resources, and lay underwater pipelines in its section.

President of the Kazakh Kazakhstancaspiishelf state company Baltabek Kuandykov told the Interfax Petroleum Information Agency that the problem of the

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Caspian sea legal status can be solved in a short time within the framework of the Kazakh concept.

**Russian Communications Satellite To Be Launched**

*LD0410195695 Almaty Kazakh Radio First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In the first 10 days of October a communications satellite of a new generation, Luch-1 [Ray-1], will be launched from Baykonur. This will be an original present for Russia's military space forces, which have carried out all Russia's space launches [from Baykonur] — they are celebrating their professional holiday today.

**Nazarbayev Opens International Oil, Gas Exhibition**

*LD0410221095 Almaty Kazakh Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The annual international exhibition on oil and gas at the Atakent business cooperation center has become a good tradition, allowing a broad range of foreign companies and firms, as well as of Kazakh ventures, to present their advanced achievements in the spheres of oil production, geology, business, and related know-how. It has also become a good tradition that such exhibitions are opened personally by the head of state. Attracting foreign investments and introducing the most advanced achievements in equipment and technology into the oil and gas sectors are key factors in the successful realization of economic reforms.

While greeting the representatives of more than 160 companies from 44 world countries who are participating in the international oil, gas, and mining exhibition, President Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that the best possibilities have been provided here to establish close business contacts and to carry out mutually beneficial exchanges of experiences. First and foremost, it will promote the improvement of the Kazakhstani people's standards of living.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] According to the unanimous opinion of all world experts, the 21st century will become the century of Kazakhstan's oil and gas, which will compete with the world's other main oil and gas exporters, and not only Europe but also the whole world will gain as a result of lower prices. [end recording]

Foreign investors are attracted by the enormously rich oil and gas resources as well as the huge deposits of precious metals. It is no accident that in accordance with the UN [as heard] decision, Kazakhstan has secured long-term foreign investments, and this makes our state different from the CIS and East European countries.

Let us have some figures for comparison: Kazakhstan has a total of $45 billion in investments while Russia received $36.5 billion.

The most significant development work is being carried out at the Bakyrchik open-cast gold mines, where Australian companies in cooperation with the state Altyn-Almas company are carrying out the development of precious stone deposits in Kazakhstan. [passage omitted]

**Nazarbayev To Meet Chevron Managers in U.S.**

*LD0410223295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Oct 4 (PIA-Interfax) — Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said as he visited the Oil and Gas-95 exhibition in Almaty Wednesday that he will have a meeting with the managers of Chevron when he is in the U.S. which he will visit on October 21.

Experts say that Nazarbayev wants to discuss the participation of the U.S. company in the Caspian Pipeline Consortium that has been set up by Russia, Kazakhstan and Oman to construct a pipeline for the exportation of Russian, Kazakh and Azerbaijani oil.

Confidential sources told Interfax Petroleum Information Agency that Chevron will try to have the problem of Oman Oil Company participation in the project resolved at the meeting.

Chevron planned to join the project but had to give these plans up because of a shortage of finances for the project. Oman Oil Company undertook to provide nearly all the funds needed for the project.

## Tajikistan

**Interior Minister on Confrontation Between Army Brigades**

*LD0410160395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1347 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE October 4 (Itar-Tass) — The Tajik authorities are going to put an end once and for all to the armed confrontation between two army brigades of the Tajik Defence Ministry, deployed in the city of Kurgan-Tyube, which is the administrative centre of the Khalton Region in the south of the country. According to the information from reliable military sources, Tajik law enforcement agencies have already arrested 27 people on charges of provoking armed clashes between army units on September 1 and 17,

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which claimed the lives of some 30 officers and men. The detainees are also accused of taking hostages and dealing with some of their supporters without resorting to the judicial bodies.

Both brigades were formed on the basis of the Popular Front paramilitary organisation, which brought the present government to power in December 1992. Later, however Popular Front units turned into a continuous source of tension because of their struggle for the spheres of influence on the domestic market, mutual accusations of plunder and looting of the local population, as well as the murder of their supporters. Local conflicts, which smouldered for about two years, gradually developed into open armed clashes, which seriously aggravated the military-political situation in the region.

"These outrages must be stopped, and all those guilty of it, irrespective of their posts, should be arrested and should face trial," Tajik Interior Minister Saidamir Zuhurov told Tass today. He is heading a presidential commission for investigating the developments in Kurgan-Tyube. Zuhurov said that they did not confine themselves to arresting only those who were involved in the armed clashes on September 1-11, including top-ranking army officers and leaders of illegal armed groups, who support them. Criminal proceedings were instituted on dozens of cases of murder, the taking of hostages and other illegal actions, which have taken place in the region since 1992. "I can tell you with absolute confidence that the situation in the city and the territory of the region is fully under the control of law enforcement agencies, and all rumous about the alleged continuation of armed confrontation are groundless," he stressed.

At the same time, according to the information from independent sources, the situation in Kurgan-Tyube continues to be tense. Armed supporters of both brigades come to the city and its suburbs. When rumours began to be spread about a possible removal from his post and arrest of Commander of the 1st Brigade of the Tajik Defence Ministry Mahmud Khudoiberdyev, an armoured group integrated in the brigade, which was deployed in the Pamir Region, left the area of deployment on its own free will and headed for Kurgan-Tyube.

Supporters of the 11th brigade are also consolidating their positions. Its headquarters were temporarily moved from the area of its deployment to a nearby village, which is part of the state farm named after Fayzali Sayidov, former field commander of the Popular Front and the first commander of that army unit. Armed groups of supporters of the 11th brigade are openly operating at the state farm. They call themselves self-defence detachments.

### Aga Khan Fund To Finance Gorno-Badakhshan Power Stations

*LD0410161595 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1100 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The power resources of rivers in the Pamirs are to be utilized from now on. A role in this was played by the great concern of His Highness Aga Khan IV for the inhabitants of mountainous Tajikistan. The Aga Khan Fund, once again displaying its concern, has signed an agreement with Sweden, one of the developed countries of Europe, on the delivery of power units and the equipment needed to construct small hydroelectric power stations on the territory of mountainous Gorno-Badakhshan. The implementation of this important economic agreement in practice makes it possible for the mountainous people to construct and put into operation some small hydroelectric power stations in parts of the remote Pamirs. The Aga Khan Fund, together with the republican administration, is currently granting financial and other assistance in order to accelerate construction of the Pamir-1 hydroelectric power station on the Gunt river.

## Turkmenistan

### Armenia No Longer To Receive Gas on Credit

*LD0410184295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1454 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, October 4 (Itar-Tass) — Armenia's inability to clear debts for gas supplied to it by Turkmenistan during 1995 and the latter's incapability to continue shipments of the same on credit emerged during intergovernmental talks that ended in the Turkmenian capital today.

Armenian Prime minister Grant Bagratyan said in Ashgabat today that currently the country's economy is restoring its production capacity, which will considerably raise its national income level. But for the time being Armenia needs a favourable financial regime, he said.

The Armenian delegation proposed to put foreign currency part of the debts amounting to 22 million U.S. dollars as state credit, assuring that the debt's commodity part (total debts of 46 million dollars) will be fully cleared by the end of the year. The two sides signed an agreement on free trade on the latter issue, which grants most favoured trading partner status for trade between the two states.

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Turkmenistan already has the experience of restructuring its credits for gas to Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan's Vice-premier Valeriy Otchertsov said during the talks. The republic has no possibilities of supplying fuel on credit to yet another consumer state. He proposed the Armenian government to find another creditor from among international currency organizations.

During the talks an agreement on shipping 2.2 billion cubic metre of natural gas in 1996 under the payment on time was signed. The two sides decided to discuss questions about conditions of supplies, prices and the procedure of payment in more detail in December.

**Manat Falling Against Dollar Due To Revaluation**

*LD0410171795 Almaty KARAVAN-BLITS in Russian 2 Oct 95 p 2*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ashgabat — It is not even two years since the introduction of the Turkmen national currency, but the manat has already been devalued by a factor of 250.

The latest official change of the manat rate against the U.S. dollar — something which takes place in Turkmenistan not as a result of currency sales, but on the decision of the Central Bank — has legalized the miserable position of the population.

In accordance with the new rate — 500 manats to the dollar — the minimum wage in Turkmenistan has become equal to $2; an average wage is $10-12. The black market immediately reacted to the Central Bank's action and dollars in the hands of foreign currency black marketeers immediately went above 700 manats. Because it is simply impossible to buy the currency officially in Turkmenistan, a further fall of the manat against its green relative can be expected. Thus people's income is in danger of falling to catastrophically low levels in real terms.

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## Armenia

### EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek Arrives

*NC0410193095 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hans] van den Broek, a member of the EU European Commission, arrived in Yerevan late tonight and met Armenian Prime Minister Hrand Bagratian. Documents are expected to be signed. Van den Broek will meet Armenian correspondents tomorrow. This was reported by the government's press service.

### Minister on EU Food Aid Talks

*NC0410202595 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with ARMENPRES, Gagik Shahbazyan, head of the Armenian Government delegation to Brussels and minister responsible for relations with the CIS, EU, and international economic organizations, assessed as generally satisfactory the results of the Armenia-EU bilateral and Armenia-Georgia-EU tripartite talks held in the Belgian capital some days ago.

He said the EU will continue to implement the program of distribution of food grants. A relevant agreement in this direction has been signed. According to it the EU will provide 110,000 tons of grain to Armenia between fall 1995 and the end of spring 1996 and 10 million ECU, which could be used to purchase nearly 50,000 tons more of grain. Thus, the Republic will receive 160,000 tons of grain from the EU alone. The minister believes this will meet demand for nearly 4.5 months.

Another document has been signed in Brussels according to which the EU will provide 500,000 ECU, nearly $600,000, to repair Armenian railways.

A document was signed by Armenia, Georgia, and the EU after the tripartite talks, regulating the problem of the transit of freight to Armenia via Georgia. Guarantees have been given for the timely and complete transfer of EU aid to Armenia. It has also been decided that the side violating the agreements will be deprived of assistance.

The Armenian delegation also met EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek in Brussels.

### Government Delegation Returns From Turkmenistan

*NC0410195995 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] As we already reported, an Armenian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan left for Turkmenistan's capital Ashgabat yesterday for talks on bilateral trade and economy.

Arriving at the Turkmenistan Government building the sides immediately began the talks. The Armenian side proposed adopting a complete package, signing a five-year agreement furthering relations. Turkmenistan expressed readiness to broaden the framework of bilateral cooperation by taking into consideration the mutually advantageous conditions.

After the second round of talks agreements were signed on free trade between Armenia and Turkmenistan and on the supply of Turkmen gas to Armenia in 1996. A protocol was signed on the talks relating to the settlement of accounts for the provision of gas until October.

Prime Minister Bagratyan handed the Turkmen side a letter from Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov.

The Armenian Government delegation returned from Ashgabat later the same day.

## Azerbaijan

### President, EU Commissioner Sign Food Aid Agreement

*LD0510092395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0136 GMT 5 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, Oct 4 (Interfax) — Azerbaijani Prime Minister Fuat Guliyev and European Commission head [as received] Hans van den Broek signed a memorandum on providing food aid to Azerbaijan in Baku Wednesday. Van den Broek is in Baku at the invitation of the Azerbaijani government.

Under the memorandum, 40,000 [metric] tonnes of grain will arrive in Baku in late October, and 75,000 tonnes of grain more as well as 15,000 tonnes of wheat flour and 20,000 tonnes of rye flour will be received by mid-January of 1996.

The food is provided as part of the program of aid to five newly independent states, also including Armenia, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan, for a total of 197 million ECU [European Currency Units].

Before the signing of the memorandum the European Union delegation headed by Van den Broek was received by Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev.

Aliyev thanked the EU for the aid and technical assistance to economic reforms and informed the delegation about the grievances of over one million refugees living in tent camps. Aliyev spoke about moral and economic difficulties experienced by Azerbaijan, which is

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involved in a war while simultaneously undertaking radical economic and social reforms.

The food aid helps ease the tensions to a certain degree, he said.

Van den Broek characterized the visit as "the beginning of a new stage of cooperation between the European Union and Azerbaijan which will be reflected in the currently drafted partnership agreement."

We would like the agreement to contribute to attracting foreign investment to the Azerbaijani economy, he said.

**Guliyev on Armenia, Caspian, Domestic Issues**

*MM0410080595 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Sep 95 pp 3, 4*

[Interview with Rasul Guliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijani Republic National Assembly, by Ayan Naibov in Baku under the "Topical Interview" rubric; date not given: "Rasul Guliyev: 'My Dream Is for My People To Have Peace'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Naibov] Rasul Bayramovich, in the new year issue of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, if you remember, you said in reply to the half-serious question from the paper "what present would you like to find under the tree?": peace for my people. You recently returned from St. Petersburg, where you took part in a working meeting of the heads of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly [IPA] and chairmen of the Transcaucasian republics' parliaments. The theme of this representative forum was peace in the Caucasus. Has it come any closer today?

[Guliyev] You can always only welcome summit meetings that are organized to resolve interethnic conflicts. Each of them can make its own positive contribution.

I am convinced that it was essential to begin discussion of such acute problems as those of Abkhazia and Karabakh, which have long awaited a resolution, by affirming the generally accepted norms of international law. These norms are well known. I have in mind the integrity of the state, the inviolability of its borders, the unacceptability of aggression in all its forms and manifestations, the renunciation of territorial claims, and condemnation of separatism and external support for it. These are key issues. If these facts of life are not recognized and the warring parties and mediators are unprepared to adhere to the norms of international law, further progress toward peace is unlikely to be possible.

Unfortunately, the Armenian side did not wish to confirm its adherence to international law in St. Petersburg, recognize Azerbaijan's sovereignty, and drop its claims to part of the latter's territory. What is more, this stance has not been adopted just recently but has existed for four years now. From this it follows that if Armenia fails to condemn aggression and does not recognize the territorial integrity of its neighbor Azerbaijan, it can, to put it mildly, be expected at any moment to mount all kinds of unfriendly actions.

In St. Petersburg, I posed the question: Can the Russian Federation and the Azerbaijani Republic mutually confirm their states' territorial integrity? Yes, of course, came the reply. Does Georgia agree to recognize the inviolability of its neighbors' borders? It goes without saying. Only Armenia is against this. OK, I say, that being so, let the three of us — the parliamentary leaders of Russia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan — sign a final statement "Towards Peace and Stability in the Caucasus." Armenia's refusal to be party to this document would unequivocally demonstrate to the whole world that it does not intend to vacate the Azerbaijani territories that it has seized and, moreover, is ready to recommence its aggressive actions.

Babken Araktsyan, chairman of the Republic of Armenia's National Assembly, objects: By all means include this point in the final statement, but do not forget that nations have a right to self-determination. Of course they do, for goodness' sake. But a nation's right to self-determination does not mean that a state can be torn to pieces by the peoples living there, I explain. Then my opponent demands that a resolution condemning genocide be taken down. "Listen," I say to him, "why when you use the word 'genocide' do you think that it only applies to the Armenian people? What about the genocide committed on the Azerbaijani people by the Armenians? But, if you want we will make a note of this 'genocide.'"

Finally, B. Araktsyan put forward his main argument: It was not Armenia but Nagorno-Karabakh that occupied your lands, he said. But it is, after all, clear to any right-minded person that little Karabakh is not in a position to wage war against 7-million-strong Azerbaijan let alone to seize territories bordering on it!

It is offensive that, having taken on the role of mediator in the settlement of the Karabakh conflict and the cochairmanship of the OSCE Minsk Group, Russia, seeing the Armenian side's openly aggressive intentions, not only is not taking any measures but is also not expressing openly and clearly its viewpoint. I do not mean the viewpoint of Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, chairman of the CIS IPA and speaker of the upper chamber of the Russian parliament, but the general direction of Russian policy in the Transcaucasus.

We do, indeed, want the Karabakh problem to be resolved by peaceful means. There has been a cease-

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fire and people have not been dying in the conflict zone for 16 months now But during these 16 months the number of Azeri refugees has not fallen and not one of the million forced migrants has as yet returned to their own homes, though they may have been destroyed. On the contrary, the refugees' lives have become even harder, and their spiritual and physical privations even harsher. Work on the great political agreement, which was called on to draw a line under this drawn-out and bloody conflict, has gotten bogged down. Moreover, the process has been set back.

I told my fellow parliamentary leaders that occupation of other peoples' territories at the end of the 20th century is everywhere a temporary phenomenon. Nowadays, nobody succeeds for long in keeping hold by force of lands that they have seized. Even the oldest of the regional conflicts — the Arab-Israeli conflict — is ending after 30 years with the annexed territories being handed back. The Armenian side should be under no illusion that, one way or another, it can succeed in joining temporarily seized Azerbaijani land to its territory. We will get it back come what may. I want to emphasize once more that we hope to do this by peaceful means. After all, if we have to resort to force, war will inflict new disasters and suffering on our peoples, including the Armenian people. Who needs this?

[Naibov] What did the CIS IPA members — the heads of the Russian and Georgian Parliaments — make of your arguments?

[Guliyev] Both Mr. V. Shumeyko and Mr. V. Goguadze agreed with my viewpoint and said: "You are right. We are prepared to sign such a statement even now." But as this document can only be adopted by consensus and the Armenian side had their own separate viewpoint, a declaration was adopted in St. Petersburg that only contains general formulations. There are hundreds of such statements.

[Naibov] Indeed, the St. Petersburg statement does not even contain an outline of the ways specified for a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh differs from that of Abkhazia in that it is mentioned only general terms. Is this pure chance?

[Guliyev] I personally objected to the inclusion of the Karabakh issues in the final statement. This is the reason why. How often has it happened in the past that yet another hollow statement has been made on Nagorno-Karabakh which has immediately been declared to be "historic" and "momentous" and has been hailed as a "most important step toward a peaceful settlement" or something of the kind. And nothing comes of it. As far as I am concerned, there will be no such posturing. I do not intend to make political capital from my people's misfortunes.

[Naibov] In St. Petersburg, was Russia's position as a mediator in the settlement of the Karabakh conflict linked, if only indirectly, to Baku's eagerness to please in questions of developing the Caspian oilfields and to the status of the Caspian basin?

[Guliyev] Definitely not. But as you have posed this question, I will explain to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA readers Azerbaijan's view on the "Caspian problem." This problem is clear and easily understood. When the Soviet Union disintegrated, all the property of the former Soviet republics — plants, factories, land, mineral and biological resources — remained in their hands. This situation was enshrined in well-known international legal documents. Azerbaijan does not, of course, lay claim to part of, say, West Siberia's oil and gas complex, which was to a large extent created by the efforts of our oil specialists and constructors.

The Caspian Sea was divided into sectors in Soviet times. There were Russian, Azerbaijani, Turkmenistani, and Kazakhstani sectors. We consider that the mineral resources on the shelf in the sector of each Caspian state, including, of course, oil, is its property. Incidentally, Azerbaijan's maritime oil reserves are smaller than those of both Russia and Kazakhstan.

The Caspian's biological resources, its ecology, and shipping are another matter. Here, our common sea should become an area of careful and assiduous joint control and good-neighbor partnership. No one has been given the right to destroy the Caspian's ecosystem or to limit fishing and shipping within the sectors.

[Naibov] Election campaigning has commenced in Azerbaijan. But of 42 political parties registered earlier, a little more than 30 have been permitted to enter the race. During the process of re-registration conducted by the Justice Ministry, it suddenly became apparent that some parties' lists of members were not in alphabetical order while others were not written in the right ink and so on. As a result an absolutely respectable party such as "Adalyat" ("Justice") and the "Green" party have pulled out of the race.

[Guliyev] Believe me, as the chairman of parliament I am fairly impartial about parties' problems. In Azerbaijan there is a law on political parties, and there is a Justice Ministry and a Supreme Court, which is the highest legal authority. We should get used to the idea of all disputed issues of this type being resolved judicially.

[Naibov] At one of your press conferences you said that the Russians in Azerbaijan feel even better than

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the Azerbaijanis. But nevertheless the republic's Russia-speaking population experiences psychological discomfort caused mainly by language difficulties. "Russian Community" and "Commonwealth" — the society for solidarity between the peoples of Azerbaijan, have begun to collect signatures supporting inclusion in the republic's new draft Constitution of a clause on the Russian language as the second state language. Do you as parliament speaker and a member of the Constitutional Commission support this initiative?

[Guliyev] I consider that the following should be written into the Constitution: "The state language of the Azerbaijani Republic is Azeri. Other languages are also used." But I am opposed to giving Russian or any other language the status of a state language. In Azerbaijan today about 5 percent of the population is Russian. The majority of Azerbaijanis have a complete or partial command of Russian. As we try to master Russian, so the Russian-speaking citizens of our republic should try to learn Azeri. But we cannot specially adopt a second state language for a particular section of society, which is, moreover, a minority.

[Naibov] But Rasul Bayramovich, it is not only a question of pleasing the Russians! Russian as a state language is first and foremost necessary to hundreds and thousands of Russian-speaking Azerbaijanis, people of other nationalities, our fellow citizens, for whom life and work in such a linguistic environment is difficult. This is not an ethnic problem but a linguistic one....

[Guliyev] Let us look at the situation internationally. State multilingualism only exists in countries where a multinational population has developed over time. For example in Finland, where there are many Swedes, or in Belgium, where French and Flemish are spoken, or in Switzerland.... But in the majority of countries there is one state language. Azerbaijan is no exception.

[Naibov] In August 1995 the average wage in Azerbaijan was 51,340 manats, or $11.6. What advice can you give your compatriots about surviving on such a wage?

[Guliyev] I find this question very difficult to answer. Azerbaijan has gotten into such a position due to the war, which has gone on for more than seven years now and has required enormous material resources and an enormous expenditure to maintain the Army. The situation has been exacerbated by the transport blockade and coups d'etat, whose consequences it has been necessary to eliminate. People have been unable to live and work in peace. Under such circumstances, we have been unable to set about implementing radical reforms in the economy. Miscalculations have been made in the financial and monetary and credit policy and no liberalization of export-import transactions has as yet occurred. All this could be discussed in another conversation.

As for my advice to my compatriots.... Have a bit more patience and faith, my dear fellow citizens. A recovery will certainly take place in Azerbaijan. And not in the distant future, not in the "bright future," but in one and a half to two years' time, when, I hope, the reforms will finally begin to work, peace will be established, and our country will enter a phase of civilized, dynamic development.

[Naibov] RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA shares your hopes. Thank you for the interview.

Editorial Note:

The interview with the leader of the Azerbaijani parliament does, of course, reflect the official viewpoint of Baku on the problem of a settlement in Karabakh. Another view is held by the Armenians, which is very likely diametrically opposed to this one, and based on a completely different approach to the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and on a different understanding of the peace process's future prospects.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA is ready to give column space to an official representative of Yerevan.

## Georgia

### Abkhazian Minister Blasts Russia Refusal To Grant Visa

*LD0310205895 Sukhumi Republic of Abkhazia Radio in Russian 0450 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] A conference devoted to the settlement of interethnic conflicts in the former Soviet Union will take place in Nicosia, Cyprus, at the end of October 1995. The conference is held as part of an international conflict settlement project. The ecology and anthropology institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Gagra school of law [in Abkhazia] are involved in this project. Valeriy Peshkov, the director of the Russian institute has asked the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to issue an exit visa to an Abkhaz representative, but the ministry refused.

In his letter to Peshkov, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov said the following:

As regards your request, we regret to inform you that the exit visa regulation has been abolished. Meanwhile, issuing a foreign national with a Russian passport would contravene current legislation. Moreover, the case is aggravated by the present state of Georgian-Abkhaz relations. A rash step by Russia could lead to undesirable political consequences.

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An ABKHAZ PRESS [news agency] correspondent has asked Leonid Lakerbaia, the foreign minister of the Republic of Abkhazia to comment on the letter. He said:

This is a new sanction in the system of economic and cultural sanctions on Abkhazia imposed by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is more than strange that a person is refused permission to attend an international conference devoted to conflict settlement. It is unclear why an Abkhaz representative's participation in the Cyprus conference would aggravate Georgian- Abkhaz relations. It is strange that Russia's deputy foreign minister regards issuing a visa to the young Abkhaz scientist as a rash step that may lead to undesirable political consequences.

**Abkhaz Parliament Discusses Russian-Georgian Accords**

*LD0410133195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent K. Bzhania — identified by caption] The Abkhaz parliament has started discussing copies of the accords and agreements signed during Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Tbilisi. The copies were supplied by the Russian Foreign Ministry. The deputies paid special attention to a treaty on setting up Russian military bases in Georgia. Article 3 of the document says that, together with the Georgian army, these bases ensure the protection of Russia's and Georgia's sovereignty and security. The Abkhaz parliament saw here a direct confirmation of its fears of a possible attempt to find a strong-arm solution to the problem of Abkhaz territories.

Republican President Vladislav Ardzinba, who spoke at the session, said that Abkhazia was in a state of cold war with Georgia. An objective decision should be taken on every matter, and any thoughtless action could have sorry results.

**Foreign Minister on Peacekeepers' Mandate in Abkhazia**

*LD0410093495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0036 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Oct 3 (Interfax) — Tbilisi has never raised the question of discontinuing the CIS peacekeepers' mandate in Abkhazia "at an official level", Georgia's Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze told Interfax in Moscow Tuesday. Chikvaidze was taking part in a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The question of the peacekeeping forces's possible withdrawal from Abkhazia arose recently after Georgian Foreign Minister Otar Patsatsia stated that "Tbilisi will not allow peacekeepers and U.N. military observers to stay in the conflict zone any longer, because the latter are no longer trusted." As reported earlier, the peacekeepers' mandate is expiring at the end of December 1995.

Chikvadize admitted that "this problem has always aroused discussions."

"Three hundred thousand refugees (Georgian refugees-Interfax) are waiting for permission to return" to Abkhazia, he said. The peacekeeping forces are staying in Abkhazia to ensure that the refugees come home, not to disunite people. This is their main task, he added.

**Moscow May 'Sacrifice' Georgadze for Azeri Pipeline**

*LD0410175495 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 4 Oct — National-Democratic Party [NDP] leaders held a news conference at party headquarters in Tbilisi on 4 October. The NDP political secretary, Mamuka Georgadze, said that the party would use exclusively its own resources during the election campaign and did not intend to form elections blocs with anyone.

Irina Sarishvili-Chanturia said that Russia was likely to sacrifice Igor Georgadze in return for the [Azeri] oil pipeline, which would cost Georgia very dear. She said that the Georgian authorities knew in advance about the 29 August terrorist attack, which was later admitted in a report by Avtandil Ioseliani [acting security chief]. President Shevardnadze and Georgadze were in each other's way ahead of the elections, and, in Moscow's eyes, Shevardnadze had defeated Georgadze in their power struggle. Sarishvili-Chanturia said that it was essential for the NDP that the people who had ordered the attack be named, but the authorities were unwilling to disclose the whole truth. Sarishvili-Chanturia said in conclusion that she could not rule out that Jumber Patiashvili would soon be named among the plotters.

**Tbilisi Protests Over Georgadze Speaking on Russian TV**

*LD0410163295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TBILISI, October 4 (Itar-Tass) — The press service of Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze issued an official protest on Wednesday [4 October] concerning the appearance of former Georgian security chief Igor Georgadze on Russian TV.

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Georgadze was charged with many acts of terrorism, including an attempt on Shevardnadze's life. According to Georgian law enforcement bodies, he is in Moscow.

Georgadze's appearance on Russian TV "evoked a feeling of bewilderment among our people," the statement says.

Dismissing charges by Georgadze against Shevardnadze, the statement asks "How can it have happened that an international terrorist was on the air, whereas the Georgian Prosecutor General had authorised his arrest, and the Russian Prosecutor General's Office had ordered to detain him and hand him over to the Georgian side on the basis of the mutual legal assistance treaty."

"Russian authorities cannot have provided a state criminal with such a large number of viewers so that he could justify his evil deeds. One can suppose that Georgadze is supported by other influential forces," the statement said.

The Main Criminal Investigation Department of the Russian Interior Ministry is searching after Georgadze, department head Maj.-Gen. Ivan Khrapov told Tass.

"The work is being conducted in close cooperation with the Russian Procurator General's Office" which gave a respective order to the Russian Interior Ministry, Khrapov said.

"Good contact has been established with the Moscow representative of the Georgian Interior Ministry department in charge of fighting organised crime," he said.

**Georgadze Reacts to Coup Allegations**

*964F0021A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian Oct 95 No 40, p 3*

[Interview with Igor Georgadze, former leader of Georgia's special service, by Natalya Zhelnorova; place and date not given: "Convicted Man's Confession"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One explosion follows another in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi. A month after the explosion on the grounds of the Georgian Parliament, which nearly took the life of head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, a political explosion has followed. The head of Georgia has accused his former special service chief, Igor Georgadze, of a coup attempt. The Georgian MVD has issued a warrant for Georgadze's arrest, and he has been forced to leave Tbilisi.

Natalya Zhelnorova met up with the former leader of Georgia's special service and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Zhelnorova] Do you know any details of the attempt on Shevardnadze's life?

[Georgadze] I arrived in Georgia after this had happened. Two days later he dismissed me from office.

[Zhelnorova] Had there been acts of terrorism while you were in office?

[Georgadze] In the MVD? Of course. People were being thrown out of windows in their hundreds.

[Zhelnorova] This terrorist act had been prepared very unprofessionally. What does this indicate?

[Georgadze] Had it been prepared by the special services (or myself), I would now be giving an interview at the cemetery in honor of Shevardnadze. But, thank God, I was not involved in this and have no intention of being.

[Zhelnorova] You have no regret that you were not in charge of the terrorist act against Shevardnadze?

[Georgadze] Removing Shevardnadze forcibly is a matter of 35-40 minutes. And he was fearfully afraid of this. He had been told that Giorgadze would make this move. Although everyone, from my colleagues in foreign special services through my team, knew that I would not be rolling out guns and tanks into Rustaveli Square. Even for the sake of the grand idea that Shevardnadze not be in charge of the state, I would not shed blood.

If I am outlawed, in an illegal position, I could, probably, serve as a pretext for armed clashes. I will do everything to ensure that this not happen. But if I sense that no other moves are left to me, then I will abandon Georgia.

[Zhelnorova] What now worries you most?

[Georgadze] The violation of human rights in Georgia's Ministry of Internal Affairs. I feel sorry for the people in the torture chambers. All in a day confess in a chorus to having prepared and committed this terrorist act?! The investigation that is being conducted at this time is not an investigation, of course, but torture. From electric shocks administered to those under investigation through breaking of the knuckles. I would like some civil rights advocate to hear of this and go there.... I am not sure that they will be brought to trial. Because in court they would deny everything.

[Zhelnorova] What do they want to get out of them?

[Georgadze] They want them to "confess" that everything was done by a specific group backed by the special service and the Mkhedrioni. There would be specific names—both Dzhaba Ioseliani and Giorgadze.... Then the "hand of Moscow" would put in an appearance.... We have all witnessed more sensational political trials. And we know how subsequently there was found to be nothing to them.

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And the present proceedings are from this same series.

**'Eduard's True Colors Are Not Known Even to His Wife'**

[Zhelnorova] Did Georgians greatly want Shevardnadze to return to Georgia after the disintegration of the Union? Or was he foisted on you by some people or other?

[Georgadze] We need to be objective. Before January 1992, we had here horror, paranoia.... I refer to the rule of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and all that accompanied his progression to power.... It was natural that people sought some way out. One Armenian woman wrote a letter: "Had we a dead person with such a name, we would be doing more than you. You are not availing yourselves of the living Shevardnadze.... Come to your senses, bring him here...." We did. Thank you. Now there is nowhere to send him.

[Zhelnorova] What was his role in the death of Gamsakhurdia?

[Georgadze] I shall leave this for my memoirs. It would be improper, particularly today, to reveal all the details connected with Gamsakhurdia's departure from this life....

[Zhelnorova] Shevardnadze attracts a furious interest in his himself. Is his personality hard to understand?

[Georgadze] I have known Shevardnadze since October 1993. But this is not enough time for studying Shevardnadze. His true colors, in my opinion, are not known even to his wife. People who are very intimately acquainted with him say that he is unpredictable. He is a person of contrasts such as do not fit within the normal human mentality. From the directives concerning the hidden video-taping of all who pray in church, say, to the adoption of Christianity. Everyone who has worked with him believes that Shevardnadze has betrayed him. He is, as it were, a long-distance runner with his own particular goal (it is not popular, it is not state), and alongside him, sprinters, those accompanying him, and subsequently they fall away—one breaks his leg, one, his neck, some are jettisoned.... He has the tricks of a provincial intriguer with international authority.

He will be studied by historians, psychologists, political scientists. But I am sure that he will go down in Georgian history as a destroyer. He has destroyed human lives and mentality. His goal is to be at the pinnacle of any power.

[Zhelnorova] Initially you were on friendly terms with Shevardnadze, now you are making all kinds of accusations against him.... Will you not be considered a traitor in Georgia?

[Georgadze] Just about everyone in Georgia knew that Georgadze was not Shevardnadze's man. From the viewpoint of leader of the special service, I had no right either to comment on or speak about Shevardnadze. I would like to remain silent until the 5 November elections. Because I would not remain in the next government that Shevardnadze forms.

[Zhelnorova] How, in your opinion, will the elections go?

[Georgadze] Shevardnadze, as a politician, is doing all that he needs to do. He has now to carry out punitive measures and to break up the security service. He has appointed governors and police chiefs. Everyone knows that he controls the MVD and that he will win the elections. The ballot boxes have already been prepared, they are already sealed. The public cannot even imagine the scale of the fraud that awaits it at the elections on 5 November.

**'It Would Be Insulting Were the Enemy To Outwit Me'**

[Zhelnorova] You are a wanted man. It is said that there is a contract out on your life. How do you feel about this?

[Georgadze] You are asking the question of a person who has been part of the state security system since the age of 18, who has taken special courses for the leaders of raid-and-reconnaissance units and the KGB Spetsnaz, who was in Afghanistan, who took part in the civil war.... I take a professional view of a contract on my life. It would be insulting for me were the enemy to outwit me. I am afraid of death, of course. But this is not an animal fear of now going out and being killed. This is a fear of unfulfilled duty to my family. I am, after all, a quarter-century younger than Shevardnadze.

One of those who had been entrusted with my assassination decided to hire strong-arm boys in the Baltic. He went to people with whom I had been together in Afghanistan, and they notified me immediately. As a result, the client paid a lot of money for the contract, and I am still alive and at liberty and am even granting you an interview. Another direct player has been taken into custody. He came to me and said: "I realized that you had made me out, but I was given the assignment. Do you want me to slap the client?" I replied: "Let him live, only you should take a very long time carrying out the contract on my life." I gave him some money.

[Zhelnorova] Have you yourself had to commission someone's assassination?

[Georgadze] Leaders of the special service answer such questions either after they are dead, leaving behind

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notes, or do not answer them at all. I shall leave this question without comment.

[Zhelnorova] Did Shevardnadze, on assuming office, avail himself of extraordinarily brutal methods?

[Georgadze] No. But now three security officers, who have already testified: "Georgadze ordered us to shoot you," have been arrested.

[Zhelnorova] Are they lying?

[Georgadze] When you receive a dose of 220 volts at 0.5 amperes every three to five minutes, you will sign a paper that says that it was you who simultaneously killed Kennedy and Gandhi and Kirov.

[Zhelnorova] Why did he dismiss you?

[Giorgadze] There are conceptual differences here. From Shevardnadze's foreign policy reference points to his vision of domestic policy and the reconstitution of Georgia. There was a period when he clasped me very close to him. This was connected with the civil war, when I was needed.

[Zhelnorova] Whom does Shevardnadze consider his enemies?

[Georgadze] The Mkhedrioni, Georgadze, the communists. External enemies—Abkhazia and Russia.

**The War Against Abkhazia Prepared Georgia for the CIS**

[Zhelnorova] Is Shevardnadze making serious attempts to restore Georgia's integrity?

[Georgadze] When Shevardnadze's adversaries shouted at public meetings that he had sold off Abkhazia, this was rejected. But you had to wonder: March 1992—Shevardnadze returns to Georgia. Abkhazia is part of Georgia. The subsiding Ossetian conflict. But, shortly after, war in Abkhazia begins. For a politician with such experience it would have been a matter of honor to have avoided it. The further it goes, the worse it gets. Grachev offered to commit a certain number of troops and apply the brakes to everything there. This was realistic, but Shevardnadze preferred a different path. One day he was asked: "Why did we not join the CIS?" (Why, incidentally, were we Georgians opposed to Gamsakhurdia? Because he had taken the path of isolation from Russia. Everyone was waiting for Shevardnadze: Under him we would immediately become a part of the CIS and would begin to live like normal people.) He said that "the people were not ready." And the opposition said to him irritably: "What, you have prepared the people for membership of the CIS with the war in Abkhazia?" In principle, yes, he had.

[Zhelnorova] But the special services also were to blame for the unleashing of the war with Abkhazia.... Could it have been prevented?

[Georgadze] We could have prevented it. Not have committed troops to Abkhazia, have appealed to Russia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, and created coalition troops securing a passage. After all, the robbery of railroad transport served as the pretext. And this was, indeed, the case.

We should have posted guards and ensured safety. But did Shevardnadze not know what kind of army we had? Did he not know that this would mean looting and bloodshed?

[Zhelnorova] When Sukhumi fell, Shevardnadze went there and declared that he would remain there until the end. Nonetheless, he left there safely by helicopter....

[Georgadze] There is one thing he cannot be accused of, and that is cowardice. No, he is not a coward. Even the military personnel who were together with him fled, but he did not. All the same, he is not our commanding hero either. How could the population have been abandoned with no preparations for its departure, evacuation.... Just imagine, an 80-year-old woman leading her 65-year-old daughter and 60-year-old son out into the frost.... Leaving without any prospects. There are now 300,000 such people in Georgia. He tells them: "I will in any event return you there. Either politically or by force. I will go there and stamp it all out."

[Zhelnorova] You maintain that you could have averted the war. Why, then, did you not?

[Georgadze] I believe that, all things considered, Shevardnadze needed an enemy. He came to a Georgia rent by contradictions. He had no unifying idea. Nor has he today either. Abkhazia afforded a pretext on all sides: transport, separatism ... But any separatism could have been ended at the negotiating table. He knows this full well. But he needed an enemy. And he got one.

He thought with his authority to resolve two problems: to unite the nation around an enemy and simultaneously to resolve the Abkhaz problem.

[Zhelnorova] How will things turn out, in your opinion? He cannot do anything....

[Georgadze] He is not a major politician but a person who has been in big politics. He did not introduce anything, what is more, he gave away. Germany.... "Please, please, please...." This was easier. He had no team. He does not have one now either. Nor has he had one throughout his life. He has always been surrounded by people who are diametrically opposite to and who

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hate one another, virtually. "Divide and rule"—in the worst communist traditions. The result is there for all to see.

The entire former party nomenklatura has resurfaced. Once again it is in the key positions, once again it is setting the pitch of our bright future. But this will not wash. This is part of the past.

[Zhelnorova] Has he become rich since Germany?

[Georgadze] I cannot say. I know that he is not the poorest individual—that is a fact. But this is not expressed in any way outwardly, there are no extravagances. I cannot say that Shevardnadze is making a pile. Although his son is working and his grandson is studying abroad.

The capital, if there is any, is imparting confidence both in his actions and his policy. Were there to be a commission of experts, independent, serious, it would establish that $2.4 million from one overseas loan will have been used for his election campaign. This is what is known.

**When Russia Sneezes, Georgia Catches a Cold**

[Zhelnorova] Shevardnadze recently remarked that there would be forces in Russia with an interest in an unstable Georgia. To which forces is he referring?

[Georgadze] Military, primarily.

[Zhelnorova] What is your forecast of your life and Shevardnadze's future?

[Georgadze] In a couple of years Shevardnadze will have been forced to leave Georgia. My future.... This is more nebulous.

[Zhelnorova] Where is Georgia headed, from your viewpoint?

[Georgadze] Our ancestors made the choice 600 years ago, 200 years ago they enshrined it. That is, Georgia is, was, and will be on good terms with Russia. Georgia without Russia is neither here nor there. This is where the well-being of the people of Georgia lies.

[Zhelnorova] When the republics were part of the USSR, it never occurred to Georgia's numerous peoples to wage war within the country because Georgia had one big enemy—Russia?

[Georgadze] Never has Russia been associated with the enemy. This was not what the people thought. When Gamsakhurdia attempted to point to the North and say: That is where all our adversities and troubles come from, he then became antipopular and was rejected. When you in Moscow sneeze, we in Georgia contract double pneumonia. When you smile here, we celebrate a wedding. The least changes in Moscow are reflected not only in Georgia but in any post-Soviet republic also.

But Georgia will not be happy if it closes its eyes and turns its back on one-sixth of terra firma, which is of the same faith and dependable in all respects and tried and tested down the ages. Georgia's path to the West lies via Russia.

**Police Arrest Armed Groups of Gamsakhurdia Supporters**

*LD0410154095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0810 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoria]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 4 Oct — The Georgian police have arrested two groups of armed supporters of the republic's ex- president Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Between 1992 and 1994 they were involved in a number of regions and towns of western Georgia in the killing of police employees, attacks on town and regional departments of the Georgian police and various acts of sabotage. The Georgian Interior Ministry press centre reported this today.

There were six fighters in each group. They are specifically charged with burning down hospitals in the towns of Zugdidi and Senaki, stealing state property and the property of private citizens and attacking subunits of the Georgian Interior Ministry's interior troops during 1993 and 1994. At the end of 1993, members of the illegal armed groups of Gamsakhurdia supporters left for forest regions and from this base committed their acts of sabotage.

**S. Ossetian Premier Survives Assassination Attempt**

*LD0410154895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[By Oleg Kusov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VALDIKAVKAZ October 4 (Itar-Tass) - Vladislav Gabarayev, the Prime minister of South Ossetia, a Georgian republic bordering on North Ossetia in Russia, survived an assassination attempt in his home in Tskhinval, authorities said Wednesday.

Batraz Kharibov, deputy information minister of South Ossetia, told Tass an explosive device exploded under the window of the one-storeyed house of Gabarayev in downtown Tskhinval, the capital of South Ossetia, late on Monday.

"Fortunately, no family members of Vladislav Gabarayev were injured, but a considerable damage was caused to the building", Kharibov said.

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## Estonia

### Chirac Supports Baltics' Integration Into Europe

*LD0410202495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1825 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] French President Jacques Chirac in a message to his Estonian counterpart Lennart Meri handed over by the French ambassador to Tallinn has given assurances of support for former Warsaw Pact countries and the Baltic states seeking to join the European security system.

Chirac is confident that the Baltic states have a central role to play in solving the problems of European security, Meri's press office told Interfax.

The French leader believes that an integration into the European Union will be the best security guarantee for the Baltic states. He expressed satisfaction over Estonia's acceptance as an EU associate member saying Tallinn would have to comply with the targets laid down in EU's White Book as the next step.

### Meri Returns From Germany With Warnings About Russia

*LD0410230495 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As before, there are forces in Russia that want to use military measures instead of democracy to make their country big and rich. This is what President Lennart Meri said today as he returned from the festivities in Germany marking the fifth anniversary of German reunification. I had the Russian military forces in mind when I warned Germany that even in 1995 there are Molotovs and Ribbentrops lurking around the world, the president said, noting that the warning is particularly significant now as one thinks of Russia facing difficult choices. [passage omitted]

### Meri Comments on Russian Military Posture

*WS0510113695 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Oct 04, BNS — There still exist forces in Russia who would prefer to rely on military measures instead of democracy to increase the power and prosperity of their country, President Lennart Meri said on Wednesday upon his return from Germany.

"Bearing Russian military forces in mind, I warned Germany that Molotovs and Ribbentrops are on the prowl even in the world of 1995," the president said.

Meri noted that his warning is all the more topical now that Russia is facing difficult choices.

The European Union remains as before the best guarantee for the future of Estonia as well as of Germany, Meri asserted. "The reunification of Germany was an event of great importance for Europe, as it restored Europe to its normal mold," the president said.

Meri noted that the reunification of Germany five years ago symbolized also the unification of Europe and all democratic forces.

In his words, this paved the way for the nations, which had been subjugated to a totalitarian regime by the Yalta agreements, to launch their own democratic rearrangements.

### Swiss Foreign Minister Arrives To Discuss OSCE Affairs

*LD0410220895 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti arrived in Estonia two hours ago for a working visit. The main aim of his visit is to discuss matters relating to the activity of the Organizatiuon for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] as Switzerland will take over OSCE presidency in December of this year. The Swiss foreign minister had a meeting with OSCE mission's representatives today and tomorrow he will be meeting ambassadors from OSCE member countries accredited to Tallinn. During his meeting with Estonian Foreign Minister Riivo Sinijarv and President Lennart Meri it is intended to discuss the bilateral economic and political relations between Estonia and Switzerland, besides the subject of OSCE.

## Latvia

### Birkavs: Latvia Ready To Join UN Peacekeeping

*LD0410225695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1814 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RIGA, Oct 4 (Interfax) - Latvia's Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs flew out to New York Wednesday to attend the jubilee session of the U.N. general Assembly. The Latvian Foreign Ministry's press center told Interfax that during the general discussion Birkavs will reaffirm Latvia's readiness to take part in U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Latvia's participation in U.N. peacekeeping operations is documented in its individual plan within NATO's Partnership for Peace Program for 1996. Moreover,

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Latvia's agreement with Denmark on the future participation of Latvian volunteers in the Danish peacekeeping battalion's operations remains in force.

**Ulmanis Interviewed on Election Results**

*LD0410225795 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1040 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[Interview with President Guntis Ulmanis by unidentified correspondent on the results of the general elections; on 4 October, place not given — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Tell us, please, whether the results have surprised you. Whether you have expected them and what was your first reaction?

[Ulmanis] You know, the period of surprise for me is far in the past — that was perhaps the first night. At the moment, I have considered in reality all the parties and forces that were elected to the parliament. Yesterday morning [3 October], I began, I would say, very important and intensive talks with them. And I have to say that all the parties are well organized, well prepared, and have rather firm and detailed stances on this or that issue. I think that sometime towards the end of the week, already we will be able to talk about first outlines as to how a future government might look, who the government's leader might be, and how parliament might look.

[Correspondent] Yes, because these two-day talks — and here I will perhaps recall that yesterday you held consultations with representatives of the largest political forces and they are the Democratic Party Saimnieks, the People's Movement for Latvia, the Union for the Fatherland and Freedom, and the leadership of the Latvian Way [Union]. This morning you also continued talks [words indistinct]

[Ulmanis, interrupting] Yes, I have just met representatives of the Latvian Independence Movement [as heard] and the Green Party.

Yes, concerning the main issues, we talked about — well, first of all, there is each man's personal interests, in this case I mean future deputies, there are interests of each party and at the end there are also interests of Latvia as a whole. I called on all the parties at this moment when Latvia is perhaps at a kind of a crossroads not to think mainly about their egoistic principles and principles of their parties, but rather to think about interests of Latvia as a whole, because this is the moment when all the political forces have to agree on fundamental standpoints — what course — in which direction Latvia will be evolving in the future.

Now then, that is not an unusual situation, because each third year, electing a new parliament and forming a new government, these issues also come under a heavy crossfire — and I would even say — a crossfire of criticism. If I am allowed to say so, then we talked very much first of all about citizenship issues, about the continuation of agrarian reform, about privatization — and what I would like to particularly stress — about continuing involvement in European institutions. I already said in my address before the elections that we were discussing this issue a lot and in various ways — seriously and not so seriously — but now perhaps the moment has come very serious. If we are talking about European institutions, then we are in fact talking about our country's security and if any of the political forces believe that this progress could be stopped in any way or made passive, then I think that such a political force will not, nevertheless, be able to find a place in the government and the governing coalition, because Latvia has to find security guarantees and it has to prove — first of all, to itself and to the whole world — that it is a civilized and highly-developed country. Unfortunately, the election results compel us to doubt it on one or the other issue. I think that politicians themselves, the new parliament and the new government will soon dispel these doubts.

[Correspondent] It must be said that at the moment the public is forming the attitude that, of course, undeniably, this government will be very hard to form and that in the long term it will not even survive especially long. After your talks yesterday and today, do you find any reason to doubt such a view?

[Ulmanis] Well, first of all a government is always hard to form, and sometimes I simply start to wonder about this election model and mechanism, where there is such a large number of parties, and such a large number of voters — yet these figures have again balanced themselves out so that there is no easy way, but it is not a way of seeking out figures, but it is a way of seeking out programs and principled attitudes. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] But the leader of the Movement of Latvia, Joahims Zigerists, believes that the government must be formed not by the losers, but by the winners. So the People's Movement for Latvia, and also the Unity Party, must of course be regarded as winners.

[Ulmanis] Now, now, it is not a football match or an athletics competition, where there are winners and losers. All strata of the population are represented here, various political forces and various parties and even various people's views. Of course there is a little more of one view, a little less of another. I want to assert

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once again, too, that in talks with me, representatives of [the People's Movement for] Latvia, as well as the [Democratic Party] Saimnieks, were also ready to take part in forming a government and ready to work in implementing the government's program. But at the moment we are thinking of a team and talking about the new prime minister. The talk is not just of him as a person; the talk is firstly of whom he will invite onto his team, and what will be the points in their program. What is their experience of administrative or economic work, as well as political work, and what is the quota of trust they have shown so far. Whether the work they have done is for the good of Latvia today, because it is hard to imagine it if the person has not been working actively up to now in state institutions or in parliament, and were suddenly to take on this huge burden of responsibility; that would also be a frivolous action on my part.

I think that at the moment all parties have demonstrated — those that I have met with — their desire, their willingness, to work in government institutions, and it seems to me that is the main thing. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Yes. I would still like to go a bit further into a description of what chances there are for your talks with the Movement for Latvia. The leaders, undeniably, of this political force had, up to the elections, in both the mass media and in politics, left a more or less (?dirty - well, it's been assessed) enough. The means whereby this movement, say, perhaps, the arsenal it had before the election — how could this force get into the Latvian — Latvian political — (?ether)?

[Ulmanis] Yes, it is a very complex question. To this question I would also like to hear our country's and various parties' and political forces' attitude, as it is no secret that the Movement for Latvia to me personally, as well as many others, is very foreign and from their position in the pre-election campaign, very aggressive and hostilely disposed to particular personalities, including me. But in my talks yesterday, we got over these personal relations and — I do not think that is the main thing in this issue — the main thing is the ability to discern who, in a few days' time, will represent this movement in the Saeima. Which people will sit in the seats of parliament, what will be these people's thinking, what are their views, and what is their programmatic and practical activity to be? I simply want to say to the listeners: This was perhaps a kind of school for us all, and especially the voters, because I am not revealing a secret in that, during the meetings with all parties, especially the Movement for Latvia, they said [word indistinct] pre-election campaign, then we talked, and now in the practical work, we will realize the possible options and the pragmatic attitudes that it is possible to realize. So one must try to (?analyze) what were the attitudes of these parties and people before and after? [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] That means that your next talks, your talks with the leaders of the political forces, could be on a different line?

[Ulmanis] Yes, they could be in a few days, because only a few days have passed, and the political forces are not in practice ready to talk about many detailed questions, and somewhere on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, the second round of talks will take place. And I think that next week we can start thinking about the actual people who could lead this government and about the actual forces.

[Correspondent] So, on behalf of the makers of the "Midday" program and of the listeners, I want to express the wish that you will be informed about it, esteemed listeners. For today I say thank you to State President Guntis Ulmanis for taking part in the "Midday" program and for this information straight after your talks with the biggest Latvian political parties and their leaders.

[Ulmanis] Thank you for listening. Goodbye.

## Lithuania

### Foreign Ministry Official on Russia's NATO 'Threat'

*WS0410093595 Tallinn BNS in English 1313 GMT 3 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Oct 3, BNS — Albinas Januska, secretary of the Lithuanian ministry of foreign affairs, called Russia's threat to invade the Baltic states in the event of their becoming NATO members "one of the most serious warnings to Lithuania since 1991."

The purpose of such a threat is to limit the sovereignty of Lithuania in security and foreign policy matters, the diplomat said.

Januska told BNS that he did not rule out the possibility that the statement of the general staff of the Russian armed forces, published in the daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA — "Basic principles of Russia's new defense doctrine" — was nothing but a propaganda trick, timed to coincide with the publication of NATO's expansion plan.

The foreign ministry secretary assumes that these threats are intended for Western Europe and NATO, since Russia cannot expect that Lithuania will change its orientation in foreign policy and security in response to such blunt warnings.

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Januska believes that this is being done with the purpose of impressing the West that the Baltic states are "within the sphere of Russia's special interests by comparison with the rest of Western European and that further steps toward sovereignty on the part of the Baltic states might lead to a nuclear catastrophe."

The deputy minister also expressed his hope that threats of this sort by Russia would be openly condemned by both democratic forces in Russia and Lithuania's partners in the West.

Algirdas Gricius, deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, told BNS that "if this is true, it is genuinely scandalous." He noted that he would prefer not to believe that such a new military doctrine exists, since during the electoral campaign in Russia all kinds of statements could be expected.

### Moscow Asked To Clarify Attitude on Baltics

*LD0410191595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Oct 4 (Interfax) — Russian Ambassador to Lithuania Nikolay Obertyshev was summoned Tuesday evening to the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry. He was asked to provide official information confirming or denying that Russia has a draft military doctrine envisaging that Russian troops will be moved into Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania if these countries join NATO, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys told Interfax Wednesday.

He said the ambassador was summoned after Russian media reported that Moscow has such a draft doctrine.

Gylys stressed that Lithuania does not intend to begin a "propaganda war" against Russia or let press reports threaten bilateral relations.

That is why the Foreign Ministry asked the ambassador to provide official information on whether Moscow really prepares a military doctrine posing a threat to the sovereignty of neighboring countries. Lithuania will react after it receives relevant information, he said.

According to Gylys, Obertyshev admitted that a draft military doctrine exists and is currently discussed by State Duma committees. However, he said he did not know the contents of the document.

Gylys stressed that Lithuania is interested in developing neighborly relations with Russia.

However, one cannot ignore "certain tendencies expressed not just in the doctrine but in the statements by political figures and in election platforms as well," said Gylys.

"We are concerned about these tendencies, that is why we want to know the official position of Russian authorities," he stressed.

### Swiss Foreign Minister Cotti Arrives

*WS0410151195 Tallinn BNS in English 1011 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Oct 4, BNS — Switzerland's Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti arrived in Lithuania on a work visit Wednesday, the foreign ministry press center in Vilnius said.

Cotti will meet with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius and Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys. On the agenda will be bilateral relations between Switzerland and Lithuania, the activities of the two countries in the OSCE, relations with neighboring governments and with European security structures, cooperation between the Baltic countries, the situation in the region and other current affairs.

It is planned that the two foreign ministers will sign a bilateral treaty on visa-free travel for diplomats and officials.

### Promises Help to Banking System

*LD0410230995 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 4 Oct 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas met Flavio Cotti, Swiss minister of foreign affairs, and officials escorting him who are currently visiting Lithuania, ELTA reported.

The issue of cooperation in the OSCE by the east countries was discussed at the meeting. Next year Switzerland will be chairing the OSCE and it would like to receive more exhaustive information on the issue.

The president of the Republic of Lithuania expressed his gratitude for trust and promised his assistance.

The Swiss foreign minister and the officials escorting him were also received by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius. The Lithuanian and Swiss officials continued the discussion of issues which had started in Bern and Zurich during the visit of the Lithuanian prime minister.

Satisfaction was expressed concerning Switzerland's intent to continue to assist in strengthening Lithuania's banking system, modernizing agriculture and health care.

According to Flavio Cotti, his country, where ethnic minorities are in high esteem, admires the way this problem is being solved in Lithuania.

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Both sides agreed that Russia must also take an active part in the life of the continent, because its isolation would introduce undesirable mistrust and tension. The Swiss minister said that the European states had a favorable view on Lithuania's experience in establishing formal relations with Russia.

Switzerland has been and will be supporting Lithuania's aspiration to integrate into the European security structures. However, from the military point of view as a non-allied country it should not interfere with NATO's affairs, Flavio Cotti, Swiss foreign minister, said.

Speaking at a news conference today, Cotti said that because of this reason Switzerland is not in the position to speak about the possible expansion of NATO. However, he added that it should proceed gradually and should be well considered.

The expansion of NATO should proceed in such a way that it does not cause either conflicts or problems, Cotti said.

Flavio Cotti and Povilas Gylys, Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs, briefed the journalists at the news conference on the results of the working visit to Lithuanian by the Swiss foreign minister. The Lithuanian and the Swiss foreign ministers signed an agreement on a visa-free travel for holders of diplomatic and business passports.

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